

A DISCOURSE D  
ON THE  
ABORIGINES OF THE OHIO VALLEY

IN WHICH THE OPINIONS OF ITS  
CONQUEST IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY THE  
IROQUOIS OR SIX NATIONS,

SUPPORTED BY

CADWALLADER COLDEN OF NEW YORK, GOV. THOMAS POWNALL OF  
MASSACHUSETTS, DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN OF PENNSYLVANIA,  
HON. DEWITT CLINTON OF NEW YORK, AND  
JUDGE JOHN HAYWOOD OF TENNESSEE,  
ARE EXAMINED AND CONTESTED;

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

SOME REMARKS ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO,

By WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON of North Bend.

MAJOR-GENERAL U. S. A., PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, ETC.

*Ne incognita pro cognitis habeamus.*—CICERO.

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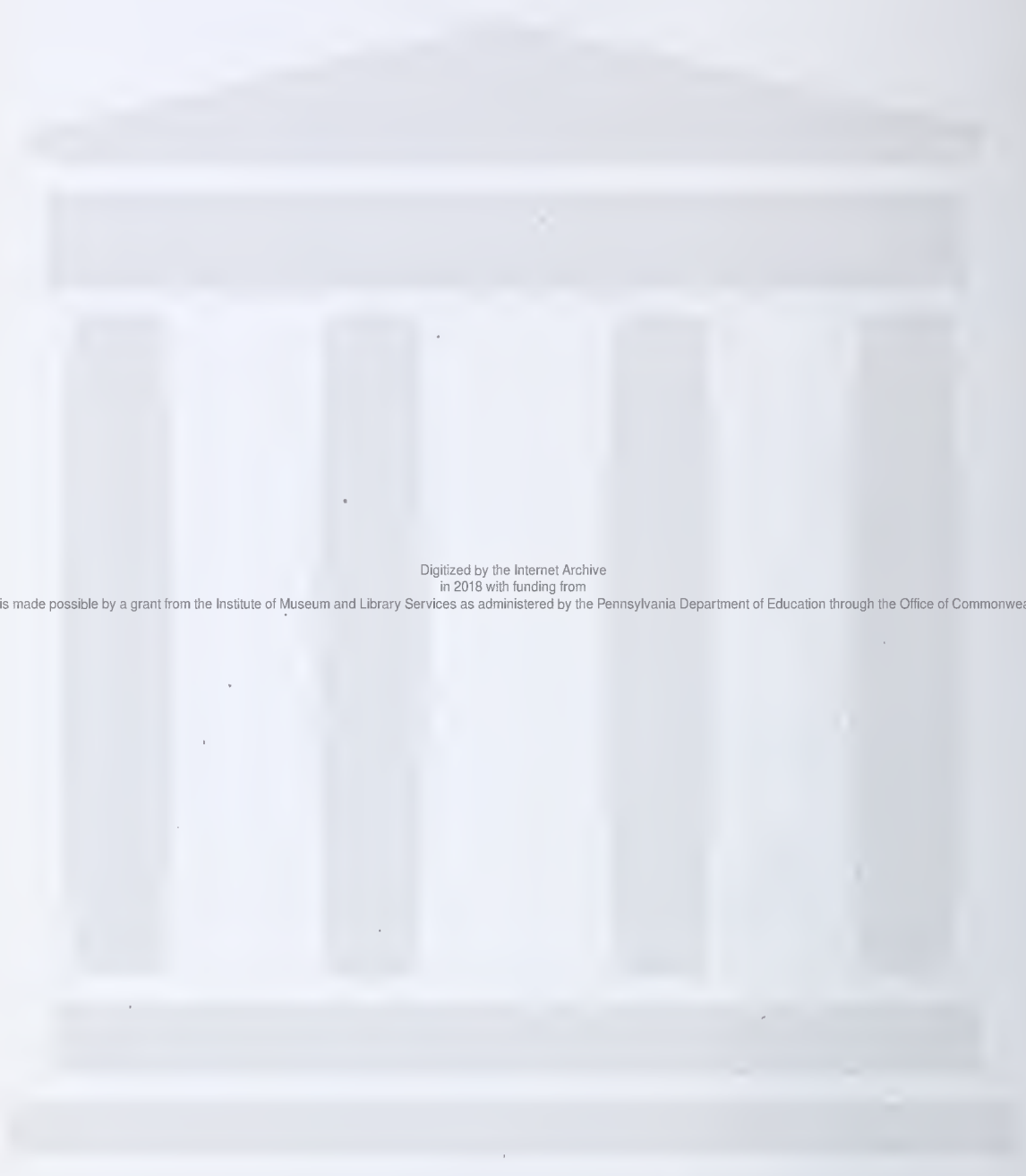
TRANSACTIONS OF THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO,  
VOL. I, PART SECOND, CINCINNATI, 1839.

WITH

NOTES AND AN APPENDIX.

CHICAGO:  
FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY.

1883.



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A DISCOURSE\*

ON THE

ABORIGINES OF THE OHIO VALLEY

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GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO :

No opinion has been more generally entertained in every civilized community, than that which asserts the importance of the study of history, as a branch of education. And although there are few, if any, who would controvert this proposition, it will scarcely be denied, that there is no study at this day, so much neglected. We everywhere meet with men possessed of much intelligence, great scientific attainments, high standing in those professions which require profound study and deep research, who have neglected to inform themselves, not only of the circumstances which influenced the rise and progress, the decline and fall of the most celebrated nations of antiquity, but who are extremely deficient in the knowledge of the history of their own country. If we search for the causes which have produced this state of things, one, perhaps the most efficient, will be found in

\* This pamphlet discusses several important topics in the history of the native tribes of our continent, with spirit and ability. \* \* \* We have no doubt, that they will be generally interested in learning the views of one, whose long official connexion with the Indian tribes, in peace and in war, and whose familiarity with the topography of the region in question, give to his opinions the authority of observation and experience, as far as they are applicable to the matter in hand. It is a source of real satisfaction, and affords relief under the disgust with which a well-regulated mind contemplates the ferocity of our party contests, to find an individual, situated like the author of this essay, devoting a portion of his time and his pen to the calm consideration of a subject, whose interest is purely historical. There are certainly but few individuals, whose life, from early youth, has been passed in the arduous active service of the field, and in maturer years amidst the labors and cares of high and responsible official station, who could sustain with more credit a discussion like that contained in the pages under review.—E. EVERETT, in *North-American Review*, July, 1840.

the great increase of works of fiction, and the fascinating character with which they have been clothed, by the great geniuses who have been employed upon them. It is the perusal of these which occupies the attention of the wealthy and fills the leisure moments of the man of business.

I am loathe to give another reason for this decline in the taste for historical reading, because it indicates, also, a decline in patriotism. I allude to the inordinate desire for the accumulation of riches, which has so rapidly increased in our country, and which, if not arrested, will ere long effect a deplorable change in the character of our countrymen. This basest of passions, this "meanest of amors," could not exhibit itself in a way to be more destructive of republican principles, than by exerting an influence on the course of education adopted for our youth. The effects upon the moral condition of the nation would be like those which would be produced upon the verdant valley of our State, if some quality inimical to vegetable life, were to be imparted to the sources of the magnificent river by which it is adorned and fertilized.

It is in youth, and in early youth, that the seeds of that patriotism must be sown, which is to continue to bloom through life. No one ever began to be a patriot in advanced age; that holy fire must be lighted up when the mind is best suited to receive, with enthusiasm, generous and disinterested impressions. If it is not then "the ruling passion" of the bosom, it will never be at an age when every action is the result of cool calculation, and the basis of that calculation too often the interest of the individual. This has been the prevailing opinion with every free people throughout every stage of civilization, from the roving savage tribe to the numerous and polished nation, from the barbarous Pelasgi to the glorious era of Miltiades and Cimon, or the more refined and luxurious age of Pericles and Xenophon. By all, the same means were adopted. With all, it was the custom to present to their youth the examples of the heroic achievements of their ancestors, to inspire them with the same ardor of devotion to the welfare of their country. As it regards the argument, it matters not whether the history was written or unwritten, whether in verse or prose, or how communicated; whether by national annals, to which all had access; by recitations in solemn assemblies, as at the Olympic and other games of Greece; in the songs of bards, as amongst the Celts and Scandinavians; or in the speeches of the aged warriors, as was practised by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanees, and other tribes of our own country. Much fiction was, no doubt, passed off on these occasions as

real history; but, as it was believed to be true, that was sufficient to kindle the spirit of emulation in the cause of patriotism among those to whom these recitations, songs, and speeches were addressed.

In the remarks I have made, it is by no means my intention to deny the good effects which have been derived from some of the works of fiction, and that they have greatly assisted

“To raise the genius, and to mend the heart.”

But this result is better effected by authentic history. Amongst the former of these, the *Telemachus* of Fenelon stands almost unrivalled for the beauty of the narrative, the purity of the morals it inculcates, the soundness of many of the principles of government it advances, and the masterly manner in which the passions of youth are subdued and brought under the control of wisdom and virtue. But I think it will not be contended that these lessons, excellent as they are, can have as beneficial an effect as many of the narratives to be found in real history. The reason is obvious. The youth, for instance, for whose special benefit the book I have mentioned was written, knowing that it was a fiction, might very readily persuade himself that the task of forming his conduct upon that attributed to the son of Ulysses was too much for him or any one else to accomplish, the character being drawn, not from nature, but from the imagination of the author. On the contrary, how many thousands of youth have been encouraged to pursue a career of usefulness and true glory by the examples to be found in the history of Greece and Rome.

The manner in which *Telemachus* is made to sacrifice his love for Eucharis, for the accomplishment of the pious object of his travels, forms a beautiful lesson; and his deep contrition and regret for having given way to the violence of his passions in his contest with Hippias, is still a better one. But authentic history furnishes examples of forbearance, in matters of this kind, which are infinitely preferable.

In relation to the first, the cases of Scipio Africanus and Alexander the Great, may be quoted. And as it regards the control of the temper, where its unrestrained violence might produce great mischief, Grecian history furnishes us with one of more value than all of a similar character which are to be found in all the works of fiction, from the origin of letters to the present day. I refer to the well-known anecdote recorded of Themistocles in his difference with Eurybiades, the Spartan admiral and commander-in-chief of the allied fleet, immediately preceding the battle of Salamis. The imagination of no writer can conceive an effect so

great, to be produced by dignified forbearance, under gross insult, as that of Themistocles on this occasion.\*

Take from the anecdote the intended blow which the superior refinement of modern manners would not tolerate, and how often might it prove a useful example to men holding inferior stations in a republic, to meet the passionate violence of those in power, with moderation and firmness, and thus avert from their country an impending calamity, having its origin either in mistaken policy or designed usurpation of power.

The works of fiction which have had the greatest effect in fixing the love of country in the youthful bosom, are unquestionably those in which the characters and the leading features are taken from real history. This is the case with most of the ancient tragedies, as well as most of those of Shakspeare; and it is doubtless from this circumstance that the beneficial effects upon mankind, attributed to them by Mr. Pope, in his prologue to the tragedy of Cato, have been produced. That beautiful production (the tragedy) would itself lose the greater portion of the interest which is felt in its perusal, if we did not know from undoubted history, that the sentiments and feelings of Cato were such as he is there made to utter, and his actions such as are there described. All well calculated to

“Make mankind in conscious virtue bold.”

The effect, however, which Mr. Pope attributes to tragedy in changing the “savage natures” of tyrants, is not so apparent. Miserable indeed, would be the situation of mankind if that were their reliance to escape oppression. But I conceive that the operation, as well of tragedy as history itself, is more direct. Instead of palliating and lessening the evil when it shall have existence, their great object is (and such is certainly their effect) to prevent its occurrence. Instead of *softening* the hearts of tyrants, to harden those of the people against all tyrants and usurpers, whatever may be the degree of usurpation or the character of the tyranny, and to warn them of the insidious means by which their confidence is obtained, for the purpose of being betrayed.

If I truly estimate the value of a knowledge of history, gentlemen, by the citizens of a republic, you will unite with me in deploring the existence of any circumstances which would have a tendency to supersede or lessen the attention which was once paid to it in our seminaries of learning, and more especially if one of the causes should be found in the increasing love of riches,

\* See note A, in the Appendix.

rendering our youth impatient of studies which are not essential to enable them to enter upon the professional career which they have chosen, as the means of obtaining that wealth which is so universally sought after.

As your association, gentlemen, was formed for the purpose of procuring and preserving materials for the history of our own State, rather than to encourage attention to that of other countries, these remarks may be considered a digression; I shall, therefore, add nothing more on that subject, but proceed to present to you some notices and remarks more in accordance with the wishes expressed in your invitation to prepare this paper.

It is somewhat remarkable that Ohio, admitted into the Union before either of the other northwestern States, so far ahead of either in point of population, and having its position precisely intermediate between them and the European colonies, from whence the emigration to all of them came, should have been the last that was settled.

Fifty-five years ago, there was not a Christian inhabitant within the bounds which now compose the State of Ohio. And if, a few years anterior to that period, a traveler had been passing down the magnificent river, which forms our southern boundary, he might not have seen, in its whole course of eleven hundred miles, a single human being,—certainly not a habitation, nor the vestige of one, calculated for the residence of man. He might, indeed, have seen indications that it was not always thus. His eye might have rested upon some stupendous mound, or lengthened lines of ramparts, and traverses of earth still of considerable elevation, which proved that the country had once been possessed by a numerous and laborious people. But he would have seen, also, indubitable evidences that centuries had passed away, since these remains had been occupied by those for whose use they had been reared. Whilst ruminating upon the causes which had occasioned their removal, he would not fail to arrive at the conclusion, that their departure (if they did depart) must have been a matter of necessity. For no people, in any stage of civilization, would willingly have abandoned *such a country*, endeared to them as it must have been, by long residence and the labor they had bestowed upon it, unless, like the descendants of Abraham, they had fled from the face of a tyrant, and the oppressions of unfeeling task-masters. If they had been made to yield to a more numerous or more gallant people, what country had received the fugitives? and what has become of the conquerors? Had they, too, been forced to fly before a new swarm from some northern or southern hive? Still would the question recur, What had been

their fate? And why had so large a portion of a country, so beautiful and inviting, so abounding in all that is desirable in the rudest as well as the most advanced state of society, been left as a haunt for the beasts of the forest, or as an occasional arena for distant tribes of savages to mingle in mortal conflicts? To aid us in coming to any thing like a satisfactory conclusion in answer to those questions, we possess only a solitary recorded fact.\* For every thing else, we must search amidst the remains which are still before us, for all that we wish to know of the history and character of this ancient and nameless people.

And although the result of such an examination may be far from satisfactory, it will not be entirely barren of information. We learn first, from the extensive country covered by their remains, that they were a numerous people. Secondly, that they were congregated in considerable cities, from the extensive works with which several favorite situations are covered. Thirdly, that they were essentially an agricultural people; because, collected as they were in great numbers, they could have depended upon the chase

\* The "recorded fact," to which allusion is here made, is the migration of the Aztecs from the North, the memory of which is preserved in the pictorial annals of the Mexican race; and this fact unquestionably suggests a possible connexion of the extraordinary works, that are found in the region northwest of the Ohio, with a known race of men, who had attained a degree of civilization competent to the execution of such structures. All beyond this belongs to the region of conjecture.

It is generally admitted, that the mounds, terraces, and other works, of which visible remains exist in many portions of this region, evince a degree of skill, not known to have been possessed by native tribes, which occupied the present Territory of the United States of America, at the time of its discovery by the Europeans.\* None of the works in question bore the appearance at that time, of being of recent structure. None of the tribes, since their manners and customs began to be noticed by travelers or colonists, have been observed to be in the habit of erecting any similar works, for the purposes of sepulture, castrametation, or agriculture. At the present day, there is not known to be any tribe of the native population of the continent possessed of the numbers, to say nothing of the skill, implied in the construction of these extensive and remarkable works. Nature has borne an unequivocal testimony to their antiquity, in the size and evident age of the forest trees, that are found growing on the summits of these mounds, and within the enclosure and on the sides of these ramparts or terraces.

\* Mr. Gallatin expresses himself with rather less positiveness on this point, than most other writers have thought it necessary to employ. "There is nothing in their construction," he remarks, "nor in the remnants which they contain, indicative of a *much more* advanced state of civilization, than that of the present inhabitants. But it may be inferred, from their number and size, that they were the work of a more populous nation than any now existing; and, if this inference is correct, it would necessarily imply a state of society, in which greater progress had been made in agriculture."—*Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. II, p. 147.

This brings us to the same conclusion as to the diversity of the race, by which the mounds were erected, from that which is now fast hastening to extinction.

but for a small portion of their subsistence; and there is no reason to believe that they were in the possession of domestic animals, as the only one known to the American continent before the arrival of the Europeans (the lama of Peru) was unsuited by nature to endure the rigors of a winter in this latitude. The impossibility of assigning any other purpose to which the greater number, and many of the largest of these remains could be applied, together with other appearances scarcely to be misunderstood, confirm the fact that they possessed a national religion; in the celebration of which, all that was pompous, gorgeous, and imposing, that a semi-barbarous nation could devise, was brought into occasional display. That there were a numerous priesthood, and altars often smoking with hecatombs of victims. These same circumstances, also indicate, that they had made no inconsiderable progress in the art of building, and that their habitations had been ample and convenient, if not neat or splendid. Man in every age and nation has provided for his own defence against the elements, before he even designates any peculiar spot for the worship of his

There are three suppositions by some one of which their existence must be accounted for. They were either constructed by some race of men sufficiently civilized for this purpose, but of whom no historical memorial, nor any other trace remains, and who, by causes of which we are entirely ignorant, have wholly perished; or they were the works of the Aztecs sojourning in this region, before their migration southward to the elevated plains of Anahuac; or, lastly, they were erected by the ancestors of some of the tribes found by the European colonists in this part of the continent,—in which case those tribes are to be regarded as the degenerate and broken-down remains of more improved ancient races.

Of the first supposition nothing more can be said, than that it is a theory by which we give a rational explanation of existing facts; the principal strength of which theory dwells in the assumed impossibility, that these works could have been erected by tribes no more advanced in civilization than the Indians, found in the continent two centuries and a-half ago, and in the supposed want of any historical indication pointing to a different origin. It is saying, in other words, that they were made by the art and labor of men, but we know not of what men. Their memory is buried in the depth and silence of the venerable forests, which cover these works of their hands.

The innate propensity of the mind to generalize its ideas has given greater currency to the second supposition. The universal current of the Mexicans, and the express testimony of their hieroglyphical annals (if the interpretation can be depended on, which was given in the age of the Spanish conquest, by those who must have been well acquainted with their symbolic characters), point to a descent of the Aztecs from the north, and ascribe to them a progress sufficiently gradual, to admit of the erection of permanant structures by the way. These facts have led the majority of writers to assume the second as the more probable account of the origin of these works. Such is General Harrison's opinion. In conformity with this view of the subject, the name of Aztalan has been appropriated to the remarkable works, which exist in the territory of Wisconsin.—E. EVERETT, in *N.-A. Rev.*, July, 1840.

God. In rigorous climates the hut will always precede the uncovered altar of earth or stone, and the well-built city before the temple is made to shoot its spires to the skies.

Thus much do these ancient remains furnish us, as to the *condition* and character of the people who erected them. I have persuaded myself that I have gleaned from them, also, some interesting facts in their history. It may, however, be proper first to remark, that the solitary *recorded* fact to which I have alluded, to enable us to determine their ultimate fate, is that which has been furnished to us by the historians of Mexico.

The pictural records of that nation, ascribe their origin to the Aztecs, a people who are said to have arrived first in Mexico about the middle of the seventh century. An American author, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Madison, of Virginia, having with much labor investigated this subject, declares his conviction that these Aztecs are one and the same people with those who once inhabited the valley of the Ohio. The probabilities are certainly in favor of this opinion. Adopting it, therefore, and knowing by it the date of their arrival on the northwest frontier of Mexico, we refer again to the works they have left us, to gain what knowledge we can of the cause and manner of their leaving the Ohio valley. For the reasons formerly stated, I assume the fact that they were compelled to fly from a more numerous or more gallant people.

No doubt the contest was long and bloody, and that the country, so long their residence, was not abandoned to their rivals until their numbers were too much reduced to continue the contest. Taking into consideration all the circumstances which can be collected from the works they have left on the ground, I have come to the conclusion that these people were assailed both from their northern and southern frontier; made to recede from both directions, and that their last effort at resistance, was made on the banks of the Ohio. I have adopted this opinion, from the different character of their works, which are there found, from those in the interior. Great as some of the latter are, and laborious as was the construction, particularly those of Circleville and Newark, I am persuaded they were never intended for military defences. On the contrary, those upon the Ohio River were evidently designed for that purpose. The three that I have examined, those of Marietta, Cincinnati, and the mouth of the Great Miami, particularly the latter, have a military character stamped upon them which can not be mistaken. The latter work, and that at Circleville, never could have been erected by the same people, if intended for military purposes. The square, at the latter place, has such a number of gateways, as seem intended

to facilitate the entrance of those who would attack it. And both it and the circle were completely commanded by the mound, rendering it an easier matter to take, than defend it. The engineers, on the contrary, who directed the execution of the Miami works, appear to have known the importance of flank defences. And if their bastions are not as perfect, as to form, as those which are in use in modern engineering, their position as well as that of the long lines of curtains, are precisely as they should be. I have another conjecture as to this Miami fortress. If the people of whom we have been speaking were really the Aztecs, the direct course of their journey to Mexico, and the facilities which that mode of retreat would afford, seems to point out the descent of the Ohio as the line of that retreat.

This position, then, (the lowest which they appear to have fortified on the Ohio,) strong by nature, and improved by the expenditure of great labor, directed by no inconsiderable degree of skill, would be the last hold they would occupy and the scene of their last efforts to retain possession of the country they had so long inhabited. The interest which every one feels, who visits this beautiful and commanding spot, would be greatly heightened if he could persuade himself of the reasonableness of my deductions, from the facts I have stated. That this elevated ridge, from which are now to be seen flourishing villages, and plains of unrivalled fertility, possessed by a people in the full enjoyment of peace and liberty, and all that peace and liberty can give, whose matrons, like those of Sparta, have never seen the smoke of an enemy's fire, once presented a scene of war, and war in its most horrid form, where blood is the object, and the deficiencies of the field made up by the slaughter of innocence and imbecility. That it was here that a feeble band was collected "remnant of mighty battles fought in vain," to make a last effort for the country of their birth, the ashes of their ancestors, and the altars of their gods. That the crisis was met with fortitude, and sustained with valor, need not be doubted. The ancestors of Quitlavaca and Gautimosin, and their devoted followers, could not be cowards. But their efforts were vain, and flight or death were the sad alternatives. Whatever might be their object in adopting the former, whether, like the Trojan remnant, to seek another country, "and happier walls," or like that of Ithome, to procure present safety and renovated strength, for a distant day of vengeance, we have no means of ascertaining. But there is every reason to believe, that they were the founders of a great empire, and that ages before they assumed the more modern and distinguished name of Mexicans, the Aztecs had lost in the more mild

and uniform climate of Anahuac, all remembrance of the banks of the Ohio. But whatever may have been their fate, our peculiar interest in them ceases after their departure from the Miami.\* In relation to their conquerors, I have little to say, and perhaps, that little not very satisfactory. Although I deny the occupation of the banks of the Ohio, for centuries before its discovery by the Europeans, I think that there are indubitable marks of its being thickly inhabited by a race of men, inferior to the authors of the great works we have been considering, after the departure of the latter. Upon many places, remains of pottery, pipes, stone hatchets, and other articles, are found in great abundance, which are evidently of inferior workmanship to those of the former people. But I have one other fact to offer, which furnishes still better evidence of my opinion. I have before mentioned Cincinnati as one of the positions occupied by the more civilized people. When I first saw the upper plain on which that city stands, it was literally covered with low lines of embankments. I had the honor to attend General Wayne, two years afterward, in an excursion to examine them. We were employed the greater part of a day, in August, 1793, in doing so. The number and variety of figures in which these lines were drawn was almost endless, and, as I have said, almost covered the plain. Many so faint, indeed, as scarcely to be followed, and often for a considerable distance entirely obliterated, but by careful examination, and following the direction, they could be again found. Now, if these lines were ever of the height of the others made by the same people, (and they must have been, to have answered any valuable purpose,) or unless their erection was many ages anterior to the others, there must have been some other cause than the attrition of the rain (for it is a dead level) to bring them down to their then state. That cause I take to have been continued cultivation. And as the people who erected them, would not themselves destroy works which had cost them so much labor, the solution of the question can only be found in the long occupancy, and cultivation of another people, and the probability is, that that people were the conquerors of the original possessors. To the question of the fate of the former, and the cause of no recent vestige of settlements being found on the Ohio, I can offer only a conjecture; but one which appears to me to be far from improbable. Since the first settlement of the Ohio by the whites, they have been visited by two unusually destructive freshets, one in 1793, and the other in 1832. The latter was from five to seven

\* See note B, in the Appendix.

feet higher than the former. The latter was produced by a simultaneous fall of rain, upon an unusually extensive frozen surface. The learned Dr. Locke, of Cincinnati, calculated the number of inches of rain that fell, and as far as it could be ascertained, the extent of surface which was subject to it, and his conclusion was, that the height of the water at Cincinnati, did not account, after allowing for evaporation, etc., for all the water that fell. In other words, that with the same fall of rain, other circumstances concurring, the freshet might have been some feet higher. Now these causes might have combined at another time to pour the waters of the tributary streams into the main trunk more nearly together, and thus produce a height of water equal to that described by an Indian chief, (to which he said he was an eye-witness,) to General Wilkinson, at Cincinnati, in the fall of 1792. And which, if true, must have been several feet, (eight or ten,) at least, higher than that of 1832. The occurrence of such a flood, when the banks of the Ohio were occupied by numerous Indian towns and villages, nearly all which must have been swept off, was well calculated to determine them to a removal, not only from actual suffering, but from the suggestions of superstition; an occurrence so unusual, being construed into a warning from heaven, to seek a residence upon the smaller streams. Before the remembrance of these events had been obliterated by time, the abandoned region would become an unusual resort for game, and a common hunting ground for the hostile tribes of the north and south, and, of course, an arena for battle. Thus it remained when it was first visited by the whites.\*

\* A new species of evidence, of a very peculiar and satisfactory character, has, since the publication of General Harrison's Discourse, been brought forward, to establish the identity of the races of the mounds, with those which had made such advances in civilization, in the more southern portions of the continent. We allude to the resemblance of the skulls, which have been found in the mounds in the northwestern region, to those which have been discovered in similar ancient works in Mexico and Peru. This important comparison was first instituted by Dr. J. C. Warren of Boston. The result of his observations was communicated to the British Association for the advancement of science, at their meeting in Liverpool, in 1837. Dr. Warren stated that he had for some time been a collector of crania from the mounds, and found them to differ from the skulls of the present races of North American Indians. On returning home one day, he found some skulls upon his table, which had been sent to him in his absence, and which he perceived at a glance to bear a strong resemblance to the mound skulls. As such, he supposed them to have been sent him, by some friend in the Western States. He soon discovered, that they were ancient Peruvian skulls, which had been procured for him in South America. Further comparisons satisfied Dr. Warren, of the identity of the tribes that reared the mounds with the Peruvian race.

Having given all the facts which I could collect, and some of the conjectures I have formed in relation to the most ancient people who have inhabited our State, I next proceed to make some remarks upon the tribes who were our immediate predecessors.

From our long acquaintance with these tribes, extending considerably beyond the commencement of our revolutionary war, and

Mr. Delafield, in his recent "Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America," referring to these statements of Dr. Warren, observes, that they are fully confirmed by the examinations made by himself.\* Dr. Morton, in his recent splendid work on the American skulls, concludes from his extensive comparison of crania, "that the cranial remains, discovered in the mounds from Peru to Wisconsin, belong to the same race, and probably to the Toltec family."†

The third opinion above alluded to is, that the Indian tribes, found by the Europeans on our continent, are to be regarded as the degenerate and broken-down remains of more improved races; the descendants of ancestors more civilized than themselves.

We are not prepared to express a preference of this theory over the others;—on the contrary, in the present state of our knowledge on the subject, we are inclined to hold our minds free for the adoption of any view of the subject, which a larger accumulation of facts may render probable. We will only say, that this last supposition is in no degree inconsistent with probability. A degeneracy of this kind, even on the part of races much further advanced in civilization, than it is necessary to suppose the authors of the American mounds and ramparts to have been, is not an uncommon occurrence in the history of the world. A considerable part of Asia, including Egypt, is inhabited by the degenerate descendants of highly cultivated ancestors. Even Greece,—that country, in which physical civilization was carried higher than it has ever been in any other,—has been in after times occupied by a posterity, certainly as little able to conceive or execute the works of Ictinus and Phidias, as the Wyandots or Miamis to contrust the mounds of the Muskingum or Scioto. And yet we must suppose that, for the last eighteen centuries, the civilized population of every part of Europe has been far less exposed to all the causes of degeneracy, than the aboriginal population of this continent, destitute as it was of the art of writing, the great preserver of all other arts. We behold the descendants of that very Mexican or Peruvian population, which is generally supposed to be the race by whom these works were originally constructed, and who are known to have been competent, at the time of the conquest and for several preceding ages, to the erection of structures, more permanent than any of which remains are found in the Northwestern States and Territories of our Union, reduced at the present day to a condition, in which they are equally incapable to plan or execute any such works;—a curious specimen of a native civilization not furthered and improved, but crushed and destroyed, by a more advanced supervening foreign civilization.

In fact, the entire question as to the original settlement of our continent seems destined to baffle the resources of human investigation. To say nothing of the inference fairly to be deduced from the Scriptures, that sound philosophy, which teaches us to prefer the simplest explanations of existing

\* Delafield's *Inquiry*, p. 16.

† Morton's *Crania Americana*, p. 260.

from the intimate connection which has subsisted between them and us, since the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, it may be presumed that we are as well acquainted with their history as we could be, when our reliance must be placed on their statements, and traditions, or by comparing those with the few facts which could be collected from other sources.

The tribes resident within the bounds of this State, when the phenomena, bids us look to an emigration from northeastern Asia, as the source of the population of this continent; and the most judicious writers are disposed, with Humboldt, to date that emigration from the fifth or sixth century of our era; a period at which it is known, that the nations of northeastern Asia were in extensive agitation and movement. But this solution of the great difficulty is met at the threshold by popular and pretty obvious objection, that although a lapse of twelve or thirteen centuries is by no means sufficient to destroy all affinity of language between races descended from the same stock, we find no resemblance whatever, beyond that which may be ascribed to casual coincidence, between the vocabulary of any of the native languages of America and that of any of the languages of the elder continent. Wherever in Europe or Asia we have the means of instituting the comparison, we find the tribes of men exceedingly tenacious of the radical and substantial parts of a language. There is probably no instance in which a vocabulary has wholly disappeared, except where the race speaking it has been wholly destroyed.

We shall, however, by no means escape this difficulty by assuming, with some of the French philosophers of the last century and their disciples, a primitive plurality of the races of man. Apart from the objections to this assumption, which arise from the cosmogony of the Scriptures, and other difficulties which might be stated, this very difficulty of language exists in an unmitigated form. The dialects of the native tribes of North and South America are exceedingly numerous, but are probably capable of being reduced to a small number of families. Of these families, however, Mr. Gallatin, in his masterly treatise on the Indian tribes of North America, has enumerated twenty-nine. Although, in the opinion of Mr. Du Ponceau, which is adopted by Mr. Gallatin, there is a general *polysynthetic structure*, in all the American languages which have been examined, in which they resemble each other and differ from the ancient and modern languages of the elder continent, there is yet a large number of families of languages on our continent, which appear to be utterly destitute of resemblance with each other, as far as the vocabulary is concerned. This is even not unfrequently the case with tribes, who were found by the first settlers adjacent to each other. It is evident that, on the theory above alluded to, of an original plurality of the races of human family, this difficulty would present itself in undiminished force; and that it is no more difficult, on the theory of a common origin, to conceive of an entire dissimilarity between the languages respectively of the American and Asiatic continent, as produced by a non-intercourse and geographical separation of ten or twelve centuries, than to conceive of a like dissimilarity, between the different families of languages of the American tribes, which has disclosed itself on the examination of their vocabularies, as the effect of a similar cause. This difficulty, therefore, if deemed decisive against an Asiatic origin of the American races, would go the length of requiring an original creation for every family of languages; a proposition too extravagant to be discussed.—E. EVERETT, in *N.-A. Rev.*, July, 1840.

first white settlement commenced, were the Wyandots, Miamis, Shawanees, Delawares, a remnant of the Moheigans, (who had united themselves with the Delawares,) and a band of the Ottawas. There may also have been, at this time, some bands from the Seneca and Tuscaroras tribes of the Iroquois or Six Nations, remaining in the northern part of the State. But whether resident or not, the country for some distance west of the Pennsylvania line, certainly belonged to them. From this, their western boundary, (wherever it might be, but certainly east of the Scioto,) the claims of the Miamis and Wyandots commenced. The claims of the latter were very limited, and can not well be admitted to extend further south than the dividing ridge between the waters of the Scioto and Sandusky Rivers, nor further west than the Auglaise; whilst the Miamis and their kindred tribes are conceived to be the just proprietors of all the remaining part of the country northwest of the Ohio, and south of the southerly bend of Lake Michigan and the Illinois River. I am aware that this is not the commonly received opinion, and that a contrary one was promulgated more than eighty years ago, and sustained by the efforts of some of the most distinguished men of our country. A subject which has engaged the attention of our immortal Franklin, and into the discussion of which, we are told, "the late DeWitt Clinton, of New York, entered with much ardor," will certainly not be deemed unworthy our attention on this occasion; even if it did not form a part of the history of the country which we have embraced in our plan. The proposition against which I contend, asserts the right, at the period of which I am speaking, of all the country watered by the Ohio, to the Iroquois, or Six Nations, in consideration of their having conquered the tribes which originally possessed it. This confederacy, it is said, possessed "at once the ambition of the Romans for conquest, and their martial talents for securing it." Like that celebrated ancient people, too, they manifested, in the hour of victory, "a moderation equal to the valor which they displayed in it;" the conquered nations being always spared, and either incorporated in their confederacy, or subjected to so small a tribute as to amount merely to an acknowledgment of the supremacy of their conquerors. That under the guidance of this spirit, and this policy, they had extended their conquest westward to the Mississippi; and south to the Carolinas, and the confines of Georgia, a space embracing more than half of the whole territory of the Union, before the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida. I have nothing to do, at this time, with the conquests in other directions, but I shall endeavor to prove that their alleged subjugation of

the northwestern tribes, rests upon no competent authority; and that the favored region which we now call our own, as well as that possessed by our immediate contiguous western sisters, has been for many centuries as it now is,

“The land of the free and the home of the brave.”

I neither deny the martial spirit of the Iroquois, nor the magnanimity of their policy to some of the tribes whom they subdued; both are well established. But I contend, that whilst they had a fair field for the exercise of all that they possessed of the former, in a war with an ancient tribe of Ohio, they had no opportunity for the display of the latter, from the indomitable valor of the comparatively small nation which had dared to oppose itself to the extension of their power. That a portion of the country was subdued, both parties admit; as they do, also, that if the termination of this war enabled the Iroquois somewhat to extend the limits of their empire, they found it a desert, without a warrior to adopt into their nation, or a female to exhibit in their triumphant returns to their villages.

I will now proceed to state grounds upon which rest the claims of the Iroquois, to be considered the conquerors of the country to the Mississippi, and between the Ohio and the lakes.

The history of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, was written by Cadwallader Colden, Esq., of New York, who was a member of the king's council, and surveyor-general of the province, twenty-five or thirty years before the revolutionary war. I have never seen this work, and shall be obliged to use the account of its contents, as far as relates to the claims of conquests made by the Iroquois, given by Mann Butler, in his recent history of Kentucky. According to the authorities quoted by this gentleman, the position occupied by the Iroquois, when the French settlement was made in Canada, was “on the banks of the St. Lawrence, above Quebec, and that from thence they extended their conquests on both sides of the Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron. In this career of conquest, with a magnanimity and sagacious spirit, worthy of the ancient Romans, and superior to all their contemporary tribes, they successively incorporated the victims of their arms with their own confederacy.” He goes on to say, condensing the account given in a work printed by Dodsley, in 1755, entitled “Present State of North America,” as follows:—“In 1673, these tribes are represented as having conquered the Ollinois, or Illinois, residing on the Illinois River, and they are, likewise, at the same time said to have conquered and incorporated the Satanas, Chawanons or Shawanons, whom they had formerly driven from the lakes.

To these conquests they are said, by the same high authority, to have added the Twightwas, (Tewietewes), as they are called in the journal of Major Washington. About the same time, they carried their victorious arms to the Illinois and Mississippi westward; and to Georgia, southward. About the year 1711, they incorporated the Tuscaroras, when driven from Carolina." "The tribe in question," says Governor Pownal in his administration of the British colonies, "about the year 1664, carried their arms as far south as Carolina, and as far west as the Mississippi, over a vast country which extended twelve hundred miles in length, and about six hundred in breadth, when they destroyed whole nations, of whom there are no accounts remaining among the British. The rights of these tribes to the hunting lands of Ohio, meaning the river of that name, may be fairly proved by the conquest they made in subduing the Shawonoes, Delawares, Tiwicteweess, and Ollinois, as they stood possessed thereof at the peace of Ryswick, in 1697." In support of these pretensions, he further quotes a paper from the pen of Dr. Franklin, who, upon the authority of Lewis Evans, a gentleman who was said by the Doctor to be possessed of great American knowledge, asserting that "the Shawonoes, who were formerly one of the most considerable nations of these parts of America; whose seat extended from Kentucky southwestward to the Mississippi, have been subdued by the confederate, or Six Nations, and the country since became their property." But it seems that, notwithstanding the bold assertions of the above-named authors, it became necessary, at a council held in the year 1744, to apply to the Six Nations themselves, to know the extent of their claims. That it was favorable enough, may be reasonably supposed. Their particular answer will be quoted below. At another treaty with the Six Nations, held at Fort Stanwix, in New York, in 1768, the Indians were again called upon to state the extent of their claims upon the Ohio. This they are said to have done in the following words, addressed to their agent, Sir William Johnson:—"You, who know all our affairs, must be sensible that our rights go much further south than the Kenhawa, and that we have a very good and clear title, as far south as the Cherokee River, which we can not allow to be the right of any other Indians, without doing wrong to our posterity, and acting unworthy of those warriors who fought and conquered it." Upon the strength of this declaration, the title of the Iroquois to the valley of the Ohio was purchased for £10,476 13s. 6d. sterling, for the crown.\*

\* The French authorities now accessible to us make it quite certain that

It will at once be perceived, that the mass of testimony in favor of the extensive conquests of the Iroquois, rests upon their own assertions. A fair offset to them will be found in the account which the northwestern Indians have given of their own history. But before I have recourse to this, I will endeavor to clear the way by examining the only two authorities which have been adduced in support of the pretensions of the Iroquois. The first and most important is to be found in Colden's History of the Six Nations. That author, upon the authority, he says, of certain ancient French authors, declares, that in 1672, the Iroquois had conquered the Ollinois, or Illinois, the Chowetans, or Shawanees, whom they had formally driven from the lakes, and in 1685, thirteen years after, the Tiwictewees, or Miamis. Mr. Butler, in the introduction to his history, gives an account of the early voyages, of discovery, to the west of Lake Michigan, made under the governor of Canada. The first of these was made by Father Marquette. His principal object was to find the great river of the west, of which they had often heard, but by accounts so uncertain, that it was a matter of dispute, whether it poured its mighty mass of water into the Gulf of California, that of Mexico, or into the Atlantic Ocean, on the coast of Virginia. This father proceeded with a party, in two canoes, in the year 1673, to the west side of Lake Michigan, and coasting it southwardly to the Bay des Puans, (Green Bay,) ascended to the Fox River the Portage, communicating with the Wisconsin, and down the latter to the Mississippi. Pursuing their voyage on that river as low down as the Arkansas, whence they returned up the river, and, by a fortunate circumstance, under the guidance of some of the natives, entered the Illinois River; (of the existence of which they had no previous knowledge,) and ascending it, reached the southerly bend of Lake Michigan, and returned to Green Bay by a better and shorter route. It was on this voyage that the French of Canada appear to have first heard of the Illinois River or the Illinois Indians. And yet it is asserted, that previously to this year, their near neighbors, with whom they had an intimate and

the Iroquois conquered the Illinois as early as 1680; and probably made incursions into the territory inhabited by the latter prior to that date. La-Salle, in that year, found the Indians between Lakes Michigan and Erie, living in daily dread of the fierce Iroquois, who evidently had already visited that region. And Tonty, in September, 1680, was among the Illinois when an Iroquois army utterly defeated them, and ravaged all their settlements along the Illinois River, even to the Mississippi. See authorities cited in Parkman's LaSalle. Chaps. xiv, xv, and xvi.—EDW. G. MASON.

every-day intercourse, had penetrated to the great river, to search for which, was the principal object of the voyage, and upon its banks had subdued a powerful nation; which, from information I received from a credible eye-witness many years afterward, were estimated to possess four thousand warriors. There were two other routes than that taken by Marquette, by which the Iroquois might have reached the Illinois. By descending the Alleghany River, which flowed through their own country, and then by the Ohio to the Mississippi. But one more direct and easier was furnished by the ascent of the Miami of the Lake, and the descent of the Wabash to the mouth of Tippecanoe, the head navigation of which is not very distant either from Lake Michigan or the Illinois River. If any expedition of this kind had taken place, it must have been known to the French of Canada, and that route would have been taken by Father Marquette, rather than the comparatively difficult and circuitous one of Lake Michigan, the Fox and Ouisconsin Rivers. The above account of the conquests of the Iroquois, fixes that of the Tiwicteweés, a tribe of the Miamis, in the year 1685; that is, thirteen years after the conquest of the Illinois tribes of the same nation. This story would have been more credible if the periods of these conquests had been reversed, and that of the Tiwicteweés, assigned to the earlier era, as it is well known that that tribe of the Miamis was always the most easterly of their nation, and hence they must have been *put out of the way* before their brothers of the Illinois could be struck.\* In the above quotation, the conquest of the Shawanoes is said to have happened simultaneously with that of the Tiwicteweés. But there is nothing said of their location at that period. From the construction of the sentence in the narrative, it seems to be intended to convey the idea that it was upon the same expedition that it was effected, and that the tribes were contiguous or rather upon the same line of operation, (one of them being first conquered, and then the other.) And such was precisely the fact as to the position of these tribes at another period—but that period was one hundred years after that which is given by the supposed French writer. The other authority to which I referred, as sustaining the Iroquois pretensions, is the admission made by the Cherokees, who attended the treaty of Stanwix, in 1766. These chiefs are represented to have laid some skins at

\* The Iroquois did not find it necessary to put the Miamis out of the way before they attacked the Illinois, because with masterly diplomacy they persuaded the Miamis to join in their invasion of the territory of the Illinois. See Parkman's LaSalle, chap. xvi, page 205.—EDW. G. MASON.

the feet of the head men of the Iroquois, saying, "that they were theirs, as they had killed the animals from which they were taken, on this side of the *big river*." This "big river," the author who records the anecdote, (Judge Haywood, in his History of Tennessee,) asserts to be the Tennessee, "as that was the way in which the Cherokees were accustomed to designate it." Now, if all the statements here made be true, and I doubt not that they are, so far from admitting the inference to be correct, I think the very reverse would be the construction put upon what they said, by every person who is acquainted with the method of speaking peculiar to the Indians. It was a remarkable peculiarity of these people, before their manners and mode of expression were somewhat modified by their intercourse with the whites, that they were always averse to refer to either men or things by their appropriate names, even if they were acquainted with them. They preferred to *describe* a man, or a river, or a town, by some quality or remarkable feature, rather than designate the object by a name. When alluding to one of their own nation, in his presence, they would say, instead of his name, "that man with a pipe in his mouth,"—"that man with a lame leg," etc., etc. If a hunter, encamped upon a branch of the Scioto, had killed a deer upon that river, he would say, upon being asked, that he had killed it upon the "big river." And the same phrase would be used if the question was asked on the Scioto, near to its mouth, if the deer had been killed on the banks of the Ohio. When, therefore, a big river was referred to, for the purpose of marking the spot where any particular event occurred, it must be always understood to mean the largest river near to them. Having crossed the Ohio on their route to Fort Stanwix, they never could have intended to refer to the Tennessee as the "big river," when they must have well known that it was a tributary to the former.

I will now proceed, gentlemen, to give you a condensed account of the information I received, in the course of a long intercourse with the northwestern tribes, commencing at the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, and which constitutes one of the grounds upon which I restrict the conquest of the Iroquois in the valley of the Ohio, to a line, at any rate, east of the Scioto. No better opportunity could be afforded than that which I possessed, to obtain correct information in relation to the ancient history, and the territorial claims of the several tribes and nations, because it was derived from discussions in councils, where conflicting parties were represented, and encouragement given to elicit a full exposure of all the facts and circumstances which could have any influence in support of their respective pretensions. I will add,

too, that there was no motive that could influence an agent of the Government to countenance the unjust pretensions of any tribe, and reject those which were better founded. All of them had placed themselves under the exclusive protection of the United States, and all had bound themselves to make no sale of any part of their lands to any other civilized power.

Rejecting, then, the accounts which have been given by the pens of a few individuals, (more intent upon exalting the fame of a particular nation, than upon giving a true history,) who assert the early conquest of the half-civilized nation which once inhabited Ohio, by the united efforts of the Leni Lenapes, or Delawares, and Mingwe or Iroquois, on their passage from the northwest part of our continent, to the shores of the Atlantic; I commence my narrative at the time when the position of all the great tribes or nations which have ever advanced any claim to the fair and fertile country between the lakes, the Ohio, and Mississippi, was as follows:—The chronology I can not precisely fix, but it was at a period, centuries after the possession of the country by the authors of the ancient works which we have mentioned, or those who conquered them, as the then possessors had not the least knowledge or tradition relative to the one or the other. There are circumstances, however, which induce me to fix the time somewhat about the middle of the seventeenth century. At that time, then, the Mingwe, or far-famed Iroquois, remained in their original seats, compressed between the inhospitable region of Labrador and the great Lenape (or, as we call them, Delaware) nation, which confined them on the south. Westwardly, they had made some conquest, and with the sagacity, which has caused them to be compared to the conquerors of the world; in the commencement of their progress, they adopted the conquered tribes into their confederacy. I am ignorant of the northern boundary of the Lenapes at this period. It is probable that it had been considerably pressed in by the Iroquois. They still, however, possessed the greater part of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

Ascending the lakes and leaving the Iroquois territory, the Wyandots or Hurons, presented themselves. A large portion of this nation were, at that time, north of Lake Erie; but the greater part occupied the country from the Miami Bay eastwardly, along what is now denominated the Western Reserve, and extending across the country southwardly, to the Ohio. Westward of this territory commenced that of the Miami Nation, or rather confederacy, possessing a larger number of warriors, at that period, than could be furnished by any of the aboriginal nations of North

America, before or since. Their territory embraced all of Ohio, west of the Scioto,—all of Indiana, and that part of Illinois, south of the Fox River and Wisconsin, on which frontier they were intermingled with the Kickapoos and some other small tribes. Of this immense territory, the most beautiful portion was unoccupied. Numerous villages were to be found on the Scioto and the head waters of the two Miamis, of the Ohio. On the Miami of the Lake, and its southern tributaries, and throughout the whole course of the Wabash, at least as low as Chippecoke, (the town of Brush Wood,) now Vincennes. But the beautiful Ohio rolled its “amber tide” until it paid its tribute to the Father of Waters, through an unbroken solitude. At that time, before, and for a century after, its banks were without a town or village, or even a single cottage, the curling smoke of whose chimney would give the promise of comfort and refreshment to a weary traveler.

If such an appearance should have presented itself to one who was aware of his situation, it would have been the signal of flight, well knowing that it must proceed from some sequestered dell, and that the fire from which it proceeded had been lighted by a party of warriors, who, having interposed the river between themselves and those who might have commenced a pursuit on the line of their retreat, might consider themselves safe in indulging in the luxury of a cooked meal, and a dry couch, after a laborious and protracted march, in which privations of every description, consistent with their success and safety, were enjoined by the rigid rules of their discipline. No traveler, acquainted with the Indian character, would seek the hospitalities of such a fire-side. Whatever might have been the result of their expedition, the interview would prove fatal to him. If it had been successful, the appetite for blood would be inflamed, rather than satisfied, and if otherwise, the scalp of an unfortunate stranger might be substituted for the similar trophy which their bad fortune or bad management had not permitted them to tear from the head of their acknowledged enemy.

We left the Mingwe, or Iroquois, strengthened by the incorporation, into their confederacy, of some conquered tribes, but not yet able to burst through the impediments which opposed their progress to the west and south. Their success, however, in the latter direction, was soon equal to their utmost hopes. We possess none of the details of the war waged with the Lenapes, but we know that it resulted in the entire submission of the latter, and that to prevent any further interruption from them in their extensive schemes of conquest, they adopted a plan to humble and degrade them, as novel as it was effectual. To those who are

acquainted with the general character of the American Indians, and to those particularly who know the conduct of the Delawares, when under the command of the renowned Bocanghelas, in their wars against the United States, and that of the gallant Nicoming, who commanded a band of forty of his countrymen in our service in the war of 1813, it will seem almost impossible that the fact which I am about to relate, can be supported upon good authority. But the best authority can be adduced in support of it, since it is acknowledged by all the parties who were concerned in it. Singular as it may seem, then, it is nevertheless true, that the Lenapes, upon the dictation of the Iroquois, agreed to lay aside the character of warriors, and to assume that of women. This fact is undisputed, but nothing can be more different than the account which is given of the manner in which it was brought about, and the motives for adopting it, on the part of the Lenapes. The latter assert that they were cajoled into it by the artifices of the Iroquois, who descanted largely upon the honor which was to be acquired by their assuming the part of peace-makers between belligerent tribes, and which could never be so effectual as when done in the character of the sex which never make war. The Lenapes consented, and agreed that their chiefs and warriors from thenceforth should be considered as women. The version of this transaction, as given by the Iroquois, is, that they demanded, and the Lenapes were made to yield to this humiliating concession, as the only means of averting impending destruction. The Rev. Mr. Heckwelder, in a communication to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, labored, with more zeal than success, to establish the Delaware account. But even if he had succeeded in making his readers believe that the Delawares, when they submitted to the degradation proposed to them by their enemies, were influenced, not by fear, but by the benevolent desire to put a stop to the calamities of war, he has established for them the reputation of being the most egregious dupes and fools that the world has ever seen. This is not often the case with Indian sachems. They are rarely cowards, but still more rarely are they deficient in sagacity and discernment to detect any attempt to impose upon them. I sincerely wish I could unite with the worthy German, in removing this stigma upon the Delawares. A long and intimate knowledge of them, in peace and war, as enemies and friends, has left upon my mind the most favorable impressions of their character for bravery, generosity, and fidelity to their engagements.

The Iroquois being thus freed from any apprehension of an attack, from their ancient enemies, upon their southern border,

prepared to force the barrier which had so long opposed their westward progress. This was not a barrier of mountains—not a rampart of earth or stone, but one similar to that which protected for ages, the open streets and avenues of Sparta—a rampart of warriors' bosoms, equal in bravery, and in the love of their country, to any which that far-famed State, or either of her distinguished rivals, ever sent to the field. From the position which I have ascribed to the Hurons, or Wyandots, it will be perceived that I allude to that celebrated tribe. There is much difficulty in fixing the chronology of many of the most important events in the history of the Indians, at the period to which I now refer.

There are no means by which we can ascertain when the war between the Iroquois and the Hurons commenced, or how long it lasted. Whether it was carried on before they were both furnished with European arms, or after they had become acquainted with the use of them, and both had been supplied by the European nation, to which they severally adhered, can not be correctly ascertained. There are circumstances, however, which induce me to believe that they had long fought with weapons of their own manufacture; but that the great battle which terminated the contest, was made more bloody and disastrous from the use of firearms. If that was the case, it must have been after the year 1701, which was the epoch of the alliance between the British and the Iroquois. Previously to that event, the French had been extremely cautious in placing the destructive arms of the Europeans, in the hands of the Indians. But, as by means of the British, the Iroquois had, in a few years, become completely armed, the French authorities were obliged to change their policy in this respect, and it was through them that the Hurons were enabled to meet the Iroquois upon terms equal as to arms, although the disparity of numbers was greatly in favor of the latter. The Wyandots assert that the last great battle was fought in canoes upon Lake Erie, and that all, or nearly all, the warriors of both nations perished. Although the actual loss of the two nations, in this battle, is said to have been equal, the consequences were far from being so. The smaller and weaker party, were unable again to bring into the field a force, which in point of numbers, could bear any reasonable proportion to their enemies. After standing at bay for some time, they yielded to the storm which they had not the physical force to resist, and retired to the shores of Lake Michigan. The history of this remarkable tribe is not ended with this change of situation. They returned after some years, to their original seats, and in all the subsequent wars of this country, continued to manifest their superiority over

the other tribes, who, upon every occasion, yielded to them the palm of bravery.

The display of martial courage and high patriotic feeling, on the part of the youth of a nation, has frequently been the result of fortuitous causes, which, ceasing to operate, their effect is soon dissipated, and the national character again sinks to its former level. Such was the case with Thebes. By the example and precepts of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, the bosoms of the Theban youth were lighted with unwonted fires, which rendered them invincible. But with the death of these great men, the spirit of the nation again sank, and the presence of the *sacred band* was no longer the signal of victory. With Sparta it was otherwise. That unbending spirit, that proud superiority, which the Spartan youth displayed in every situation, and which induced him to seek a death in the service of his country, as the most enviable distinction, was the result of impressions fixed upon the mind in the earliest periods of life, and continued through the stages of minority. Other lessons might occasionally be taught, but this being always present to the mind of the youth, the love of country, and the obligation to die whenever her service required the sacrifice, suppressed or weakened every other passion of the soul, and it reigned triumphant. This accounts for the uniform character of the Spartan warriors, through a long lapse of ages. And this, too, was the source of the bravery which I have assigned to the Wyandots, in the commencement of the eighteenth century, and which I knew them to possess at its close. To die for the interest or honor of his tribe, and to consider submission to an enemy the lowest degradation, were daily lessons impressed upon the dawning reason of the child, and continued through all the stages of youth. Facts, in support of what is here asserted, will be given in a subsequent part of the narrative.

The departure of the Wyandots gave the long-wished-for opportunity to the Iroquois to advance into Ohio. And that they did advance as far as the Sandusky, either at that period or some time after, is admitted. But there is no evidence whatever, to show that they made a conquest of the Miamis, other than their own assertions, and that of the British agents, residing among them, who obtained their information from the Indians themselves. Whilst the want of such acknowledgments on the part of the Miamis, a number of facts, susceptible of proof, and with all the inconsistencies and, indeed, palpable absurdities, with which the Iroquois accounts abound, form such a mass of testimony, positive, negative, and circumstantial, as should, I think,

leave no reasonable doubt that the pretensions of the latter, to the conquest of the country from the Scioto to the Mississippi, are entirely groundless. In the accounts which the Miamis gave of themselves, there was never any reference to a war with the Iroquois, whilst they declared that they had been fighting with the southern Indians, (Cherokees and Chickasaws,) for so many ages, that they had no account of any period when there was peace with them. At the treaty of Greenville, and at all the subsequent treaties, made for the extinguishment of their title to the extensive tract which I have assigned to them above, no suggestion was made of any claim of the Iroquois to any part; and there were, upon most of those occasions, those present, who would have eagerly embraced the opportunity to disparage the character of the Miamis, by exhibiting these as a conquered and degraded people. The Iroquois were not represented at the treaty of Greenville, but previously to its being held, they took care to inform General Wayne, that the Delawares were their subjects—that they had conquered them and put petticoats upon them. But neither claimed to have conquered the Miamis, nor to have any title to any part of the country in the occupancy of the latter.\*

\* In the Discourse of DeWitt Clinton before the New York Historical Society, where the extensive conquests of the Five Nations are painted in strong colors, after stating that the date of these conquests is uncertain, he says, "The Illinois fled to the westward, after being attacked by the confederates, and did not return until a general peace; and were permitted, in 1760, by the confederates, to settle in the country between the Wabash and the Scioto Rivers.\* Pownall's "Topographical Description" is given as the authority for this statement; and, on turning to Pownall,† we find he asserts it on the authority of "Captain Gordon's Journal," who, instead of 1760, uses the expression "sixteen years ago." Whether Captain Gordon's Journal was written in 1774, we do not know. We rather suppose, that Governor Clinton inadvertently took the statement to be that of Pownall himself, whose "Topographical Description" was written in 1775. But it is incredible, that the Five Nations claimed a right to dispose of the territory between the Wabash and Scioto as late as the middle of the last century, and that the tribes of the great western league were settled there, at so recent a period, by *their* permission. As the Indians of the Five Nations were careful to inform General Wayne of their ancient conquest of the Delawares, and as any claim adverse to the Miamis was likely to be viewed with favor by the United States at the treaty of Greenville, great importance is justly attached by General Harrison to the circumstance, that no such claim was then alluded to. Though the Five Nations were not a party to the treaty of Greenville, there were those present who would gladly have revived such a tradition, to the disadvantage of the Miamis, had any such tradition then existed. We regard this consideration as of a decisive character.—E. EVERETT, in *N.-A. Rev.*, July, 1840.

\* DeWitt Clinton's *Historical Discourse*, p. 28.

† *Ibid.*, p. 42.

The French had establishments in the Illinois country in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and, upon the authority of the learned and Rev. Dr. Bruté, present bishop of Vincennes, Mr. Butler, in his recent *History of Kentucky*,\* asserts that Vincennes was a missionary post, so early as the year 1700. At that period the Miami Nation is represented by all French accounts as very numerous, and in the undisputed possession of all the country I have claimed for them. I have myself seen a very old and respectable citizen of St. Louis, who recollected when five tribes of the nation, who went under the appellation of Illinois tribes, could bring into the field four thousand warriors; and yet they did not compose the strength of the nation, which was to be found strung along the banks of the Wabash and its tributary streams, and no doubt far into Ohio. In the year 1734, M. de Vincennes, a captain in the French army, found them in possession of the whole of the Wabash, and their principal town occupying the site of Fort Wayne, which was actually the key of the country below. This officer was the first Frenchman who followed the route of the Miami of the Lake, and the Wabash, in passing from Canada to their western settlements; and, in doing so at this time, throws some light upon the chronology of some of the events to which I have referred. Long before this period, the French must have known of the shorter and easier route, and no reason can be assigned for their never having used it, but from its being the seat of war, on some portion of it, which rendered it unsafe. This war I suppose to be that between the Wyandots and Iroquois; and, although I would fix its termination earlier by some years than the expedition of Vincennes, yet, being an experiment, it is probable that it required some time to ascertain its entire safety; nor is it at all impossible, that the Tiwicteweés (always the most eastern of the Miami tribes) were not upon the most friendly terms with the Iroquois. Indeed, the probability is, that there was war between them, but not of a decisive character, and if any conquests were made, or any part of the territory of the Miamis conquered, it must have been of trifling extent; if victories had been gained, their effects were evanescent, and of no use to the conquerors. Vincennes, in 1734, found them (the Miamis) in the possession of the entire Wabash; and, in 1751, the Tiwicteweés were visited at their towns, on the Scioto, one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth, by Mr. Gist, of Virginia, whose *Journal* has been lately published by Mr. Sparks,

\* *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.* By Mann Butler, A.M. Louisville, Ky., 1834.

amongst the Washington papers. Mr. Gist remarks, that they were there "in amity with the Six Nations," and adds, that they "appeared to him to be a very superior people" to their supposed conquerors. Amongst the inconsistencies to be found in the declaration of those who support the pretension of the Iroquois on this side of the Ohio, I shall at this time mention but one. After broadly asserting the claim of conquest to the Mississippi, it seems, that, in 1781, Colonel Croghan, who is represented to have been an agent with the Iroquois for the thirty years preceding, limited their right "on the southeast side of the Ohio, to the Cherokee (Tennessee) River, and to the Big Miami, a stony river on the northwest side." Even this reduced claim to the territory within one State, will not be admitted; as it has been shown, that the Tiwictewees were in full possession of the Scioto, upward of one hundred miles above the Miami, where they were visited by Mr. Gist, and presented nothing to indicate a conquered people. I have no doubt that their pretensions to extensive conquests on the southeast side of the Ohio, are also untenable. Dr. Franklin asserts, that at a treaty held in 1744, the chiefs of the Six Nations, upon being questioned as to their title, made this reply, "that all the world knew that they had conquered the nations living on the Susquehanna, the Cohongoronto, (now Potomac,) and back of the Virginia mountains." The Doctor further asserts, upon the authority of Mitchell, the author of a work which had been published at the solicitation of the British board of trade and plantations, "that the Six Nations had extended their territories ever since the year 1672, when they subdued and were incorporated with the Shawanoes, *the native proprietors* of those countries." Besides which "they claim a right of conquest over the Illinois and all the Mississippi, as far as they extend." I have already disposed of the Illinois portion of these pretended conquests, and I will now show that the whole account of the subjugation of the Shawanoes by the Iroquois, is still more clearly destitute of foundation. No fact, in relation to the Indian tribes, who have resided on our northwest frontiers for a century past, is better known, than that the Shawanees came from Florida and Georgia about the middle of the eighteenth century. They passed through Kentucky (along the Cumberland River) on their way to the Ohio. But that their passage was rather a rapid one, is proved from these circumstances. Black Hoof, their late principal chief, (with whom I had been acquainted since the treaty of Greenville,) was born in Florida, before the removal of his tribe. He died at Wapocconata, in this State, only three or four years ago. As I do not know his age, at the time of his leaving

Florida, nor at his death, I am not able to fix with precision the date of the emigration. But it is well known that they were at the town which still bears their names on the Ohio, a few miles below the mouth of the Wabash, sometime before the commencement of the revolutionary war; that they remained there some years before they removed to the Scioto, when they were found by Governor Dunmore in the year 1774. That their removal from Florida, was a matter of necessity, and their progress from thence, a flight, rather than a deliberate march, is evident from their appearance, when they presented themselves upon the Ohio, and claimed the protection of the Miamis. They are represented by the chiefs of the latter, as well as those of the Delawares, as supplicants for protection, not against the Iroquois, but against the Creeks and Seminoles, or some other southern tribe, who had driven them from Florida, and they are said to have been literally *sans provat et sans culottes*. As during this rapid flight, was the first and only time that the Shawanees had ever been in Kentucky, the story of their having been conquered, and their right to the country obtained by the Six Nations, in consequence of that conquest, nearly a century before, must be considered an entire fabrication. This history of the Shawanees was brought forward at a council held at Vincennes, in the year 1810, to resist the pretensions advanced by the far-famed Tecumthey to an interference with the Miamis in the disposal of their lands. However galling to this chief, the reference to these facts might have been, he was unable to deny them, as will be seen by an examination of the proceedings of this council, preserved in McAfee's history of the western war. These facts prove most clearly, that the Six Nations never did acquire a title to the country between the Kentucky River and the Tennessee, by the subjugation of the Shawanees, unless it was when that tribe was passing through it nearly a century subsequent to the period in which it is said to have taken place. If it should be asserted that the Shawanees might have occupied the country in question before the year 1674, and have been then driven off by the Iroquois, and sought refuge in Florida, from whence they again returned after a lapse of seventy or eighty years, the answer is, that they give no such account of themselves, nor are there any traces in the country itself, to show that it had been occupied either by the Shawanees or any other tribe, for some ages at least before the period fixed for its conquest by the Iroquois. All the early voyagers on the Ohio, and all the first emigrants to Kentucky, represent the country as being totally destitute of any recent vestigages of settlement. Mr. Butler, in his History of

Kentucky, remarks in the text, that "no Indian towns, within recent times, were known to exist within this territory, either in Kentucky or the lower Tennessee;" but in a note he says, "there are vestiges of Indian towns near Harrodsburg, on Salt River, and at other points, but they are of no recent date." The same author, and all others assert, "that this interjacent country, between the Indians of the south, and those northwest of the Ohio, was kept a common hunting ground or field of battle as the resentments or inclinations of the adjoining tribes prompted to the one or the other." The total absence of all vestiges of settlement, of a date as late as the period of the alleged conquest, is conclusive testimony against it, the process by which nature restores the forest to its original state, after being once cleared, is extremely slow. In our rich lands, it is, indeed, soon covered again with timber, but the character of growth is entirely different, and continues so, through many generations of men. In several places on the Ohio, particularly upon the farm which I occupy, clearings were made in the first settlement, abandoned, and suffering to grow up. Some of them, now to be seen, of nearly fifty years' growth, have made so little progress towards attaining the appearance of the immediately contiguous forest, as to induce any man of reflection, to determine, that at least ten times fifty years would be necessary before its complete assimilation could be effected. The sites of the ancient works on the Ohio, present precisely the same appearance as the circumjacent forest. You find on them, all that beautiful variety of trees, which gives such unrivaled richness to our forests. This is particularly the case, on the fifteen acres included within the walls of the work, at the mouth of the Great Miami, and the relative proportions of the different kinds of timber, are about the same. The first growth on the same kind of land, once cleared, and then abandoned to nature, on the contrary, is more homogeneous—often stinted to one, or two, or at most three kinds of timber. If the ground had been cultivated, yellow locust, in many places, will spring up as thick as garden peas. If it has not been cultivated, the black and white walnut will be the prevailing growth. The rapidity with which these trees grow for a time, smothers the attempt of other kinds to vegetate and grow in their shade. The more thrifty individuals soon overtop the weaker of their own kind, which sicken and die. In this way, there are soon only as many left as the earth will well support to maturity. All this time the squirrels may plant the seed of those trees which serve them for food, and by neglect suffer them to remain,—it will be in vain; the birds may drop the kernels, the external pulp of

which have contributed to their nourishment, and divested of which they are in the best state for germinating, still it will be of no avail; the winds of heaven may waft the winged seeds of the sycamore, cotton-wood and maple, and a friendly shower may bury them to the necessary depth in the loose and fertile soil—but still without success. The roots below rob them of moisture, and the canopy of limbs and leaves above intercepts the rays of the sun, and the dews of heaven: the young giants in possession, like another kind of aristocracy, absorb the whole means of subsistence, and leave the mass to perish at their feet. This state of things will not, however, always continue. If the process of nature is slow and circuitous, in putting down usurpation and establishing the equality which she loves, and which is the great characteristic of her principles, it is sure and effectual. The preference of the soil for the first growth, ceases with its maturity. It admits of no succession, upon the principles of legitimacy. The long undisputed masters of the forest may be thinned by lightning, the tempest, or by diseases peculiar to themselves; and whenever this is the case, one of the oft-rejected of another family, will find between its decaying roots, shelter and appropriate food; and springing into vigorous growth, will soon push its green foliage to the skies, through the decayed and withering limbs of its blasted and dying adversary—the soil itself, yielding it a more liberal support than any scion from the former occupant. It will easily be conceived what a length of time it will require for a denuded tract of land, by a process so slow, again to clothe itself with the amazing variety of foliage which is the characteristic of the forests of this region. Of what immense age, then, must be those works, so often referred to, covered, as has been supposed by those who have the best opportunity of examining them, with the second growth *after the ancient forest state had been regained?*

But, setting aside all that has been advanced adverse to the claims of the Six Nations to be the extensive conquerors that they have so long been considered, there are, I think, insuperable arguments to be found against it, drawn from the nature of man in every age, and from the state in which they were at that period. They have been compared to the Romans,—but in what did the resemblance consist? Like that celebrated people they might have been ambitious of extending their influence, and, like them, constant in adhering to a course of policy adapted to secure it. But there the parallel must end. The ingredient in the composition of a Roman army, to which all their conquests are justly attributed, they did not, and in the state of society to which they

were advanced, they could not possess. I allude to that bond by which an army of many thousands are brought to a harmony and unity of action, as if they were possessed of but one spirit and one mind. Without this, no distant foreign conquests ever have been or ever can be made. In every considerable collection of men in arms in every state of society, the elements of faction, disunion, and final dissolution are always to be found. If the warriors of the Iroquois did not possess this spirit in a superior degree, they greatly differ from the kindred tribes of this country, with whom I have been acquainted. To have conquered the numerous tribes between their frontier and the Mississippi, in the short period assigned, an army of many thousands would have been requisite. How would an army of that size be supported? The game of the forest flies before the march of an army, and the state in which these Indians were at that time, being without beasts of burden (and having a natural horror of exercising that quality of the Roman soldiers themselves), they would be unable to apply the superabundance of one day to the wants of another. The power to move men in masses, to be efficient, is one of the highest evidences of civilization. The manner of making war amongst the North American Indians was totally different. They endeavored to *wear away* their enemy, by surprising and butchering, now a family, less frequently a hunting camp, but rarely a village. If the hostile parties were in juxtaposition, as the Sacs and Foxes and the Illinois Miamis, a few years would determine the contest. But if they were separated by a large tract of unoccupied territory, as the northwest and southern Indians, ages might pass over without any thing decisive being effected.

An erroneous opinion has prevailed in relation to the character of the Indians of North America. By many, they are supposed to be stoics, who willingly encounter deprivations. The very reverse is the fact; if they belong to either of the classes of philosophers which prevailed in the declining ages of Greece and Rome, it is to that of Epicureans. For no Indian will forego an enjoyment or suffer an inconvenience, if he can avoid it, but under peculiar circumstances: when, for instance, he is stimulated by some strong passion—but even the gratification of this, he is ever ready to postpone, whenever its accomplishment is attended with unlooked for danger, or unexpected hardships. Hence their military operations were always feeble—their expeditions few and far between, and much the greater number abandoned without an efficient stroke, from whim, caprice, or an aversion to encounter difficulties.

But if the Indian will not, like Cato, throw from him "the pomps and pleasures," with which his good fortune furnishes him—when evils come which he cannot avoid, when "the stings and arrows of outrageous fortune" fall thick upon him, then will he call up all the spirit of the man into his bosom, and meet his fate, however hard, like "the best Roman of them all." With all these facts before me, I can not persuade myself, that the Six Nations ever extended their conquests in the manner that has been stated. Their attempts to conquer the numerous and war-like tribes on the Mississippi, would have been rendered abortive in one of the two ways mentioned in the apothegm of Henry the IV., in relation to Spain:—"If a small army should be sent, they would be defeated: if a larger one, it would starve." The extensive conquests made by the *shepherds* of Scythia, during the middle ages, both in Asia and Europe, oppose no argument against the theory I have attempted to establish. There is no point of comparison in the situation of a people who, to an abundance and variety of the domestic animals which furnish food and clothing, add the possession of the horse, superior to any of them, and equally useful in peace as in war, and those who have none of these aids.

At the general peace of Utrecht, in 1712, the French were made to acknowledge the Iroquois as being under the exclusive protection of Great Britain. As a counterpoise to the strength which the alliance with these tribes brought to their rival, the former power soon employed themselves in securing the friendship of the more western tribes. But although these great rival powers became parties in the war which was kindled in Europe, upon the death of the Emperor Charles the VI., their subjects in the interior of the American continent, as well as the Indian tribes, were suffered to remain in quiet. But in that which was commenced in 1755, both parties claimed the assistance of their respective Indian allies. The Six Nations gave their powerful aid to the British, whilst the northwestern Indians ranged themselves on the side of the French, and contributed largely, by their assistance, to the defeat of General Braddock, and to procrastinate the fall of Fort Du Quesne, and other western posts. The peace of Paris, in 1763, terminated the war between France and Britain, and the entire cession of all the French dominions in North America, to the latter power, seemed to promise a lasting peace with the Indians. Such, however, was not the case. One year of bloody war, after the British had gained possession of all the western posts, desolated the frontiers, and the important fortress of Michillimackinac was taken, and Detroit, Fort Pitt, and

Niagara, had nearly suffered a like fate. In these enterprises, the Indians of Ohio, the Wyandots, Delawares, and Shawanees, acted a conspicuous part. A treaty of peace was at length effected, through the instrumentality of the Six Nations.

It was not, however, kept with good faith by the Indians, who continued to commit occasional depredations upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, throughout the ten following years.

In the year 1774, a grand expedition under the command of the titled Governor of Virginia (Lord Dunmore) against the Indians of Ohio, resulted in the celebrated battle of Kenhawa by the left wing of the army, whilst that under the immediate orders of the Governor penetrated to within a short distance of the Shawanees towns on the Scioto, where a precipitate treaty was concluded, and the Governor hastened to his capital, to provide against a storm of a different character; of the approach of which he had seen evidences not to be misapprehended.

In the year 1775, Great Britain (determined to compel her colonies to submit to her arbitrary mandates, with that recklessness of means for which she has ever been remarkable, whenever a purpose of aggrandizement, or vengeance, was to be secured,) by the influence of the traders, by large donations, and larger promises, engaged all the northwestern Indians in her cause, with a view to the devastation of the frontiers. Attempts were made by Congress to avert this calamity, by convincing the Indians, that they had no interest in the quarrel, and that the wiser path was to observe a perfect neutrality. Nothing can show the anxiety of Congress to effect this object in stronger colors, than the agreement entered into with the Delaware tribes, at a treaty concluded at Pittsburg, in 1778. By an article in that treaty, the United States proposed that a State should be formed, to be composed of the Delawares and other tribes, and contracted to admit them, when so formed, as one of the members of the Union. But this, as it might perhaps have been afterward considered, enviable distinction, weighed but little in the eyes of the Indians, compared to the present advantages of arms and equipments, clothing and trinkets, which were profusely distributed by the agents of Great Britain.\*

\* With the breaking out of the Revolution, in 1775, commenced an Indian war, which outlasted that with the mother country by twelve years, and for all that period not only obstructed the settlement of the territory northwest of the Ohio, but inflicted on the frontiers the heart-sickening cruelties of a savage warfare. Such was the fruit of the detention of the western posts; and of the insidious policy of the Canadian Government, in preventing an accommodation between the United States and the northwestern tribes. Much

It is not my design to detain you with any of the details of this war, or that which immediately followed the war of the Revolution, and which continued to the peace of Greenville, in 1795,—the latter either belongs to the history of the adjacent States, or to the general history of the United States—but to give a general idea of the Indian tribes who have been once the residents and proprietors of our State, abstracted as much as possible from our own history. No doubt can be entertained, that, although constrained to acknowledge the independence of the United States, the Government of Great Britain still indulged the hope, that at some distant period it would be able again to reduce them to subjection. No other reason can be assigned for the close connection which they continued to keep up with the tribes within our territorial boundary, and their constant and liberal supply to them of the means of committing depredations upon our settlements. For the first few years, the military equipments

light has been thrown on this important and not well-understood chapter of our history, in the late valuable “*Life of Thayendanegea*,” by Colonel Stone. The papers of this celebrated Mohawk chieftain, placed at the disposition of his industrious biographer, have cleared up several doubtful points. With the other documents submitted to Colonel Stone’s inspection, among the papers of Brant, is a certified copy of the celebrated answer of Lord Dorchester to a speech of the Indians of the seven villages of Lower Canada, assembled at Quebec, as deputies from all the nations who attended the great council of the Miamis in the year 1793. This speech, at the time, was believed to be authentic by General Washington and by Governor Clinton of New York, to whom a copy was sent by Washington, in order to the settlement of that point. Chief Justice Marshall pronounced it spurious, without stating the grounds of his judgment; and in this opinion he is followed by Mr. Sparks. Its authenticity, however, was admitted at the time by the British minister, in a letter to the Secretary of State, who had made it the subject of a remonstrance. Colonel Stone seems to put the matter beyond doubt. “I have myself,” says he, “transcribed the preceding extracts from a certified manuscript copy, discovered among the papers of Joseph Brant, in my possession.” \*

Few events in the history of the country have exercised a more powerful influence on its progress, than the victory of General Wayne over the combined forces of the northwestern confederacy, on the 20th of August, 1794. This event, followed as it was by the treaty of Greenville, threw open the floodgates of emigration into the territory beyond the Ohio. The modesty of General Harrison has not only led him to suppress all mention of the fact, that he was himself, as an aid of the commander-in-chief, among the foremost in the dangers of that decisive conflict;—that he was even present in the battle could not be gathered from his brief allusion to it. He confines himself exclusively to a tribute of well-deserved commendation of the commanding General.—E. EVERETT, in *N.-A. Rev.*, July, 1840.

\* Stone’s *Life of Thayendanegea*, Vol. II. p. 269.—Marshall’s *Life of Washington*, Vol. V. p. 535.—Sparks’ *Writingz of Washington*, Vol. X. p. 394.—Wait’s *American State Papers*, Vol. III. p. 60, 3d edition.

were more cautiously supplied. But after the failure of the expedition under General Harmar, and the total defeat of our army, in November, 1791, under the command of General St. Clair, the Government of Great Britain believed the propitious moment had arrived, so ardently wished for, to wipe off the stain which had been fixed upon their military renown, in the former war with America, and again to replace in the diadem of their sovereign, what was denominated by the greatest of her statesmen, "the brightest jewel that it had contained." The mask was not, however, entirely thrown off. For, in the spring of 1793, Great Britain tendered her services as a mediator of peace with the hostile tribes. The offer was accepted, and three of our most distinguished citizens were commissioned, under the guarantee of safety, by the British, to meet the Indians at the rapids of the Miami of the Lake. This conference resulted in a conviction of the insincerity of the British, and that there was no hope of effecting a peace upon any honorable terms, but by first convincing the Indians of our military superiority.\* A lesson of this sort was in preparation for their use, under the auspices of one of the heroes of the revolution. The delay of a second summer, produced by the abortive negotiation, was employed by him to make its success more certain. On the 20th of August, 1794, within the bounds of our own State, and within view of the scene of the council, of the previous year, the eyes of the Indians were opened to the fallacies of British promises, and to their entire inability to resist an American army, when properly directed. The aid furnished them by the British, being open and palpable, fully sufficed to show their entire disregard of the principles of neutrality, but was still behind their promises, and the expectations of the Indians. In despite of the opposition of the British agents, the Indian chiefs applied to the commanding general for an armistice. This being granted, was followed, in the succeeding year, by a general peace. The tribes which had been united in the war against the United States, were the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanees, Chippewas, Ottawas, Potawatomes, Miamis, Eel River tribes, and Weas. The three last constitute, indeed, but one tribe, but in consideration of the country which was ceded by the treaty, being really their property, this division of their nation was admitted by General Wayne, the commissioner, in order to give them a larger share of the annuities which were stipulated to be paid by the United States.

The above-mentioned tribes, could not have brought into the

\* See note C, in the Appendix.

field more than three thousand warriors at any time, during the ten years preceding the treaty of Greenville; although, a few years before, the Miamis alone could have furnished more than that number. The constant war with our frontier, had deprived them of many of their warriors; but the ravages of the small-pox were the principal cause of this great decrease of their numbers. They composed, however, a body of the finest light-troops in the world. And, had they been under an efficient system of discipline, or possessed enterprise equal to their valor, the settlement of the country would have been attended with much greater difficulty than was encountered in accomplishing it, and their final subjugation delayed for some years. The Wyandots, the leading tribe of the confederacy, and that to whose custody the great calumet, the symbol of their union, was intrusted, had authority to call a council of the chiefs of the several tribes, to consult upon their affairs. But there was no mode of enforcing their decision, and the execution of any plan of operations, that might have been determined on, depended entirely upon the good pleasure of those who were to execute it. At one time it was thought, indeed, that they had adopted the very judicious plan of cutting off the convoys of the army, by a constant succession of detachments. This was, however, soon abandoned. And under the influence of the confidence which they had acquired, as well in their valor as their tactics, from their repeated success, they again determined to commit the fate of themselves and their country to the issue of a general battle. This was all that was wanted by the American commander. By this fatal determination, they had already prepared the wreath of laurels which was to adorn his brow by their complete and total discomfiture. The tactics which had been adopted for the American Legion, had been devised with a reference to all the subtilties, which those of the Indians were well known to possess. It united with the apparently opposite qualities of compactness and flexibility, and a facility of expansion under any circumstances, and in any situation, which rendered utterly abortive the peculiar tact of the Indians in assailing the flanks of their adversaries. The correctness of the theory, which dictated this plan, was proved in the trial, and confirmed the truth of the sententious motto of a military society, even where Indians are the enemies:—“*Scientia in bello, pax.*”

It may be proper that I should say some thing more as to the character of the now scattered and almost extinct tribes which so long and so successfully resisted our arms, and who for many years after, stood in the relation of dependants, acknowledging

themselves under our exclusive protection. Their character as warriors, has been already remarked upon. Their bravery has never been questioned, although there was certainly a considerable difference between the several tribes, in this respect. With all but the Wyandots, flight in battle, when meeting with unexpected resistance, or obstacle, brought with it no disgrace. It was considered rather as a principle of tactics. And I think it may be fairly considered as having its source in that peculiar temperament of mind, which they often manifested, of not pressing fortune under any sinister circumstances, but patiently waiting until the chances of a successful issue appeared to be favorable. With the Wyandots it was otherwise. Their youth were taught to consider any thing that had the appearance of an acknowledgment of the superiority of an enemy, as disgraceful. In the battle of the Miami Rapids, of thirteen chiefs of that tribe who were present, one only survived, and he badly wounded.\*

As it regards their moral and intellectual qualities, the difference between the tribes was still greater. The Shawanees, Delawares, and Miamis, were much superior to the other members of the confederacy. I have known individuals among them of very high order of talents, but these were not generally to be relied upon for sincerity. The Little Turtle, of the Miami tribe, was one of this description, as was the Blue Jacket, a Shawanee chief. I think it probable that Tecumthey possessed more integrity than any other of the chiefs, who attained to much distinction; but he violated a solemn engagement, which he had freely contracted, and there are strong suspicions of his having formed a treacherous design, which an accident only prevented him from accomplishing. Sinister instances are, however, to be found in the conduct of great men, in the history of almost all civilized nations. But these instances are more than counterbalanced by the number of individuals of high moral character, which were to be found amongst the principal, and secondary chiefs, of the four tribes above mentioned. This was particularly the case with Tarhe, or the Crane, the grand sachem of the Wyandots, and Black Hoof, the chief of the Shawanees. Many instances might be adduced, to show the possession on the part of these men, of an uncommon degree of disinterestedness and magnanimity, and strict performance of their engagements, under circumstances which would be considered by many as justifying evasion. But one of the brightest parts of the character of those Indians, is their sound regard to the obligations of friendship. A pledge of

\* See note D, in the Appendix.

this kind, once given by an Indian of any character, becomes the ruling passion of his soul, to which every other was made to yield. He regards it as superior to every other obligation. And the life of his friend would be required at the hands of him, (or his tribe,) who had taken it, even if it had occurred in a fair field of battle, and in the performance of his duty as a warrior. An event might have occurred in the late war with Great Britain, and their allies, in which a most striking exemplification of this principle would have been exhibited. In the autumn of 1793, the chief, Stiff Knee, of the Seneca tribe, who had been the friend of General Richard Butler, who had fallen on the fatal 4th of November, 1791, joined the army of General Wayne, for the purpose of avenging his death. The advance upon the enemy having been arrested, from the lateness of the season, and the troops placed in cantonments for the winter, impatient of delay, the chief earnestly solicited the General to be permitted to go with a detachment to attack one of the positions of the enemy. This request was, of course, refused. To satisfy him, and to prevent his going alone, the General informed him that an ample opportunity of vengeance would be offered in the spring. But the soul of the warrior could not brook this delay. To the officer with whom he lodged, he expatiated upon the unsupportable weight by which his mind was oppressed, at the postponement of the day of retribution for the death of his brother, whose spirit was constantly calling on him for vengeance. Upon one of these occasions, he said, that, denied an opportunity of performing this sacred obligation, nothing remained but to convince his friend how readily he would have died for him, and before his arm could be caught, he plunged a poignard in his bosom.

I am satisfied that this is not the proper time to enquire how far the United States have fulfilled the obligations imposed upon them by their assuming, at the treaty of Greenville, the character of sole protectors of the tribes who were parties to it, a stipulation often repeated in subsequent treaties. But I will take this opportunity of declaring, that if the duties it imposed, were not faithfully executed, during the administration of Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Madison, as far as the power vested by the laws in the Executive would permit, the immediate agents of the Government are responsible, as the directions given to them were clear and explicit, not only to fulfill with scrupulous fidelity, all the treaty obligations, but upon all occasions, to promote the happiness of these dependant people, as far as attention and expenditure of money could effect these objects.

(*From the North American Review, July, 1840.*)

We are left by our author to learn the last important chapter in the history of most of the Indian tribes, once conspicuous in the valley of the Ohio, from other pens than his own. Beyond a brief allusion, in the concluding paragraphs of the Discourse, to the conduct of the celebrated chieftain Tecumthé, at the council of Vincennes, in 1810, there is no reference to those momentous events and struggles, in which General Harrison himself performed the most conspicuous part: This celebrated Indian chieftain, who may with propriety be placed by the historians on the same page with King Philip, Pontiac, and Brant, was the son of a Shawanoe father and Cherokee mother, a descent which admirably adapted him to achieve that project, which, to some extent, is supposed to have been contemplated by the other eminent Indian chieftains whom we have named, that of bringing all the Indian tribes into one grand confederacy. This policy, as far as it extended, was the secret of the strength of the Five Nations. It is even affecting to hear these poor children of nature, by their speaker Canassatego, at the council of Lancaster, in 1744, recommending *Union* to the American colonies. At the session of the FOURTH OF JULY of that year, the eloquent Onondago warrior used this remarkable language:

“We have one thing further to say, and that is, we heartily recommend union and good agreement between you and your brethren. Never disagree, but preserve a strict friendship for each other, and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger.

“Our wise forefathers established union and amity between the Five Nations; this has made us formidable; this has given us weight and authority with our neighboring nations.

“We are a powerful confederacy; and, by your observing the same methods which our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh strength and power; therefore, whatsoever befalls you, never fall out with each other.”\*

If this is the language of barbarism, what is civilization!

\* Colden's *History of the Five Nations*; in the Papers annexed, p. 149.

While we write these lines, the intelligence reaches us, that, in virtue, rather let us say *by force*, of one of those monstrous impositions called Indian treaties, negotiated, in the present instance, against the wishes of fourteen-fifteenths of those whose lands it cedes, the last remnant of those sagacious and formidable tribes, whose representative, in 1744, uttered these counsels of friendship and wisdom, are about to be driven from their last foothold in New York, and transported to a "new home" west of the States of Arkansas and Missouri. Whatever doubts may rest on the question discussed in the address before us, whether the victorious arms of the Five Nations were ever pushed to the Mississippi, no doubt, unhappily, will be left to the future historian, that they are now to be driven across that river, by their civilized, humane, and Christian neighbors; and this by force of a treaty, of which the President of the United States remarks, in communicating it to Congress, "that improper means have been employed to obtain the assent of the Seneca chiefs, there is too much reason to believe." That their condition will be improved by the removal is an opinion, we know, entertained by persons of integrity and honor, and we devoutly hope that it may be realized. But this opinion, however confidently entertained, and however likely to be justified by the result, furnishes no apology, so long as their right to occupy their reservations is admitted, for forcing them to quit their homes, under the forms of a mock treaty, concluded against the wishes, however unenlighted or misguided, of a great majority of the tribe.—EDWARD EVERETT.

## APPENDIX.

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### NOTE A.

The object of Themistocles was to induce the council of war to adopt his opinion of fighting the Persians, in the narrow strait which separates the island of Salamis from the main, which would prevent them from being surrounded by the immensely superior fleet of the latter. The commander of the Spartan squadron, and those of the other states within the Isthmus of Corinth, were desirous to retreat to the shores of Peloponnesus, in the vicinity of which the army of the Peloponnesian Greeks had been assembled, for the purpose of guarding the isthmus, which afforded the only land entrance to that portion of the country. Themistocles endeavored to convince the council, that if they abandoned the favorable position which the straits of Salamis afforded, and attempted a retreat to the coast of Peloponnesus, they would be pursued by the Persians, and obliged to fight in the open sea, which would enable the enemy to surround their comparatively small force, and that defeat would be inevitable. The Grecian fleet being destroyed, the Persians would be enabled to turn the position of the army, which would be deprived of all the advantages in defending it. He was, also, afraid that the fleet would separate, each squadron repairing to the harbor of the state to which it belonged, preferring (as is the case in all confederacies, where there is no common head in the government, with power to enforce obedience to its decrees,) the interest of the individual member to which it belonged, to the common good. The debate became warm; and the Spartan commander losing his self-command, raised his staff to strike his opponent. The noble Athenian, full of confidence in the measures he had recommended, for the destruction of their common enemy, and of enthusiasm in the cause of liberty and civilization, attempted neither to avert the blow, or resent the indignity. His remark, "strike, but hear me," seemed rather to invite it, as the price of the attention of his enraged commander, to arguments which he knew could not be answered.

Eurybiades, awed by the indomitable firmness of the Athenian, calmed his passion, submitted himself to the mighty genius of his rival, and Greece was saved.

## NOTE B.

The circumstances which militate most against the supposition of the identity of the Aztecs, with the authors of extensive ancient works in Ohio, is the admitted fact, that the latter entered the valley of Anahuac, from the Northwest, that is, from California, which is much out of the direct route from the Ohio to Mexico. A strong argument in favor of it, is the similarity of the remains which are found in that region (California), as well as in Mexico itself, with those in the valley of the Ohio. I am not informed whether there are any such in the intermediate country between the lower Mississippi and California. But if there are none, it will serve rather to confirm and strengthen my opinion, that the fugitives from the Ohio, were, like those from Troy, a mere remnant, whose numbers were too small to erect works of so much labor, as those they had left behind had required; but, after their strength had been increased, by a residence for some time in California, the passion for such works returned with the ability to erect them.

The similarity, in point of form and mode of construction, between the works now to be seen in all the countries I have mentioned, (Ohio, Mexico, and California,) proves that they must have been erected by the same, or a kindred people, derived from the same stock, and if the latter, the separation took place *after the custom of such erections had commenced.*

If the opinion is adopted, that the Aztecs were never in Ohio, but had pursued the direct route from Asia (whence it is believed they all came) to California, along the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and that the authors of the Ohio erections, were from the same continent and stock, the question may be asked, Where did the separation take place? Was it before they left Asia, or after their arrival upon the American continent? Are there any works similar to those in Ohio, Mexico, and California, to be found in the northeast of Asia, or between the Pacific and the Rocky Mountains, or on the route which that branch of the nation would have pursued, which bent their course towards the valley of the Ohio? If these questions are answered in the negative, it will thus go far to prove that the practice of constructing such works originated in the latter, and that those who erected them were the same people who afterwards sojourned in California, and finally settled in the valley of Anahuac, or Mexico. If we adopt the opinion, that they were totally a distinct people, or were different branches of the same original Asiatic stock, we must believe also that they each fell into the practice of erecting extensive works, of the same

form, and of the same materials, (in a manner not known to be practised by any other people,) without any previous knowledge to guide them, and without any intercourse. This, to say the least of it, is very improbable.

If the Aztecs were not the authors of the Ohio works, we can only account for the ultimate fate of those who were, by supposing that they were entirely extirpated, preferring, like the devoted Numantians, to be buried under the ruins of their own walls, to seeking safety by an ignominious flight.

I find no difficulty, from the facts mentioned in the text, in adopting the opinion, that these people were conquered by those who were less civilized than themselves. An enlightened nation, whose military institutions are founded upon scientific principles, and which relies upon its own citizens for protection, will never be subdued by savages, nor by those who have made little progress in civilization. They may be beaten in a battle, indeed in many battles, as was the case with the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who first broke through the boundaries of the Roman Republic; and in our day and nation, when the northwestern Indians defeated our armies in two successive campaigns, as they had previously done those of Great Britain. But their triumphs will be terminated as soon as the causes which produce them are ascertained, and a change is effected in the plan of operations, or in the mode of forming the troops to meet the exigency, as was the case in the former under the direction of Caius Marius, and in our own under the direction of Anthony Wayne. But it is quite otherwise, with those who have made such small progress in civilization, as to be unable to make war upon fixed and scientific principles. I have assigned to the nameless nation of our valley the character of an agricultural people, and this is precisely the state (without military institutions) in which a nation is most weak, and most easily conquered, by those who still depend upon the chase for food, or who have advanced still further, and draw their subsistence from flocks and herds of their own rearing. The labors of agriculture serve to form the body to endure the toils and hardships incident to a military life. There is something, too, in that kind of employment, which serves to kindle a spirit of independence in the bosom, and nurture the feelings of patriotism. Hence, it has happened, that agricultural nations, which had engrafted a system of military instruction upon the ordinary education of youth, have always been the most renowned in war, and most difficult to be conquered.

*"Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,  
Hanc Remus et frater; sic Fortis Etruria crevit,*

Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,  
Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces."

2d. GEORGICS, 532.

But whilst the occupation of the husbandman furnishes the best materials for making good soldiers, as well from the qualities it imparts to the mind, as the strength and activity which the body receives from constant exercise and nutritive aliment, it teaches nothing of the military art. The hunter, on the contrary, is already a soldier, as far, at least, as individual qualities can make him so. But the pastoral life (not that which the poets have furnished, the pictures drawn from their own imaginations, but that which authentic history describes,) furnishes, not only men suited to war, by their personal qualities, but armies which have acquired, from their congregated mode of life, a degree of discipline, and a knowledge of the most important operations of war. There is nothing in the employment of the agriculturist, or artisan, which bears any resemblance to military duty. The citizens employed in such labor (exclusively) cease to be soldiers, and the agricultural or manufacturing nation, which adopts no system of military instruction for its youth, must depend upon the employment of mercenaries for its protection, or it will become a prey to the first invader. The German or Scythian hordes, which obtained from the fears, or the weakness, of the Roman emperors, settlements within their borders, were unable, after a few years, to resist the new swarms from the same hives, which pressed upon them, and which adhered to their original mode of life and manners. But the most extraordinary instance of the superiority of savages, in war, to an agricultural people who neglect military institutions, is furnished by the history of our own parent Isle, in the application of the Britons for assistance to a Roman emperor, after the abandonment of their Island by troops of the latter. It is impossible for language to convey, at once, a more dastardly spirit, and consciousness of extreme imbecility, than that used by the British deputies, on this occasion. "The Caledonian savages," say they, "drive us to the ocean, and the ocean again repels us back upon our enemies."

The fate of our predecessors, in the occupancy of our fine country, was, no doubt, long procrastinated by their patience of labor, and knowledge in the art of fortification. By similar means, and by the application of a chemical discovery, to the purposes of their defence, the tottering fabric of the lower Roman Empire, was for many ages sustained, and long after the\* "naked and trembling legions" had declined to meet their barbarous

\* Their defensive armor was laid aside in the reign of the Emperor Gratian.

adversaries in an equal field. The Ohio fortresses were not erected for defence against a casual invasion. The size of their walls, and the solidity of their construction, shows that the danger which they were intended to avert, was of constant recurrence. But whilst their persons were safe, behind bulwarks impregnable to savages, they might behold, from their summits, the devastation of their ripened fields. The seed time, indeed, as well as that of the harvest, might be marked by a crafty foe; and thus the hopes of reaping even a portion of the gifts of autumn, be destroyed by want of opportunity to perform the indispensable labors of spring.

It appears, however, that no exertion was omitted to avert their impending fate. The work to which I have referred, at the mouth of the Great Miami, was a citadel, more elevated than the Acropolis of Athens, although easier of access, as it is not like the latter, a solid rock, but on three sides as nearly perpendicular as could be, to be composed of earth. A large space of the lower ground, was, however, enclosed by walls, uniting it with the Ohio. The foundation of that, (being of stone, as well as those of the citadel,) that forms the western defence, is still very visible where it crosses the Miami, which, at the period of its erection, must have discharged itself into the Ohio much lower down than it now does. I have never been able to discover the eastern wall of this enclosure, but if its direction from the citadel to the Ohio, was such as it should have been, to embrace the largest space, with the least labor, there could not have been less than three hundred acres enclosed. The same land, at this day, will produce under the best cultivation, from seventy to one hundred bushels of corn per acre. Under such as was then, probably, bestowed upon it, there would be much less, but still contribute much to the support of a considerable settlement of people, remarkable beyond all others, for abstemiousness in their diet.\*

If we had the means of investing closely the causes which led to the disasters of this nation, one, not the least in effect, would, I think, be found in their abominable religion, which taught the propitiation of the Deity, not by the sacrifice of the firstlings of flocks and herds, which, being the gift of God to man, he might again offer to his Maker, in gratitude for blessings received, or to obtain others which he sought, but by the immolation by man of his fellow man; that only creature of all that were created, whom the Creator reserved for himself, to fulfill his purposes, and minister his glory.

\* When the Spaniards, under Cortes, were subsisted by the hospitality of the Mexicans, and other South American Indians, they complained that one Spaniard would consume more in one day, than would suffice ten Indians.

It is a little remarkable, that whilst the savages (those in the hunter state) throughout the American continent, should acknowledge the superintendence of the world by one God, and that a God of mercy and love; those who were a little farther advanced in civilization, who congregated together in cities and villages, and who drew their subsistence from the fruits of the earth, produced by their own patient labor, should clothe the god or gods whom they worship, with attributes and passions, which are only to be appeased by a sacrifice of blood, and that blood poured out from the bosoms of their fellow men.

It would seem, then, that the first advances in civilization, were equally unfavorable to liberty, and to the proper understanding of the obligations due from man to his Maker. In the first stages of society, the political institutions are few and inefficient, and whatever force they may possess, is applicable, rather to their foreign, than their domestic transaction. Each individual is the guardian of his own rights, and acquiring from it a high idea of his personal independence, is willing to respect the equal claims of others. If the social ties are few, they are proportionally strong: and the scene of attachment to the tribe or nation to which he belongs, is never felt in greater force in any future stage of civilization. An injury offered to any individual belonging to it, from one of another tribe, would be considered his own, and his life would be willingly risked to redress or avenge it. His ideas of religion are derived from the spark which God has furnished to every bosom, and from the great book of nature, which is constantly spread before him. As these lights are in possession of all, he is willing that all should form their opinions from them, to suit themselves. But these feelings and sentiments, so universal in the hunter state, seem soon to disappear, when men begin to congregate in towns, and especially when the idea of individual property is established. In such a state of society, disputes and collisions will constantly arise, and it becomes necessary that the hitherto independent individual, should surrender some portion of his rights, the more certainly to secure those which he reserves. But in his inexperience, the guards with which he attempts to protect the latter, are too feeble to resist the assaults which are made upon them. By one set of his former equals, whom he has contributed to elevate to power, the whole of his political rights are usurped, and he becomes a slave; by another, his conscience is taken into keeping, and he is a monster. Strange, but true as strange, that as men progress in the arts, which enable them to live with more ease and comfort, they should lose the dignity of character and independence which had

distinguished them in the earlier stages of society. That they, who were once jealous of their liberties, should become the willing instruments for enslaving others; who had seen, in the operation of nature's god, nothing but love to mankind, and the grant of equal power to all, should admit the pretensions of men like themselves, to speak in the name of the Creator, to claim the right to punish supposed breaches of his will; and worse than all, to clothe him with the forms, the cruelty, and ferocity of the most savage monsters of the desert. But such was the condition of the Mexicans, when first visited by the Europeans, and such, no doubt, was that of the Aztecs in the valley of the Ohio. The temples of Circleville, Grave Creek, and Newark, no doubt, annually streamed with the blood (if not of thousands, like those of Cholula and Mexico,) of hundreds of human beings.

At the period of the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico, the profusion of victims demanded for sacrifice, was supplied by prisoners taken in war. Dr. Robertson objects to the account given by all the early Spanish historians, as to the number of these victims, upon the ground of the effect it would have upon population. He adopts the opinion of Las Casas, that if there had been such a waste of the human species, the country never could have attained that degree of populousness for which it was remarkable.\* This reasoning is not, however, sufficient to overthrow the positive assertion of so many cotemporary historians. For many years before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Mexicans had been engaged in successful wars; and as it was the inviolable practice to sacrifice every prisoner, the number might have reached, for several years preceeding the arrival of Cortes, even the highest number which the historians referred to, have mentioned, without conflicting with their assertions, as to the populousness of the country. For, in relation to the latter, these writers must have referred not to the conquered nations, but to the conquerors, or those, the Tlascalans for instance, who had not submitted to the Mexican power. It is asserted by Captain Cook, in his third voyage, that the practice of sacrificing human victims pervaded all the islands of the Pacific Ocean; and that it produced a very decided effect upon the population.† The want of prisoners of war, was supplied from their own people. When this distinguished navigator was last at Otaheite, a civil war was raging. The party attached to the head chief or king, had been unsuccessful. After each disaster, sacrifices of this kind were offered to their god, to obtain more favorable results. One of the chiefs,

\* Vol. iii., page 198-9.

† Cook's Voyage, vol. i., page 348.

upon being questioned upon the subject, defended the propriety of the practice, because, as he said, it propitiated the deity, who "fed upon the souls of the sacrificed," and repelled the charge of inhumanity, "because the victim was selected from the poorest of the people," the very class which forms the strength of every nation; which fights its battles, and protects its independence. But for the indisputable evidence which we have upon this subject, it could scarcely be believed, that the rulers of any people, could ever adopt a practice, at once so cruel, and so destructive in its consequences—producing the necessity of a double draft upon their population, to supply the losses of the battle field, and the demands of their own priesthood. Such, no doubt, was the practise with the Mexicans, and the nation of whose history I have attempted to present some gleanings, and it will serve to strengthen my conjecture, that the fate of the latter was hastened by their laboring under the double curse of an arbitrary government, and a cruel, bigoted, and bloody religion.

#### NOTE C.

The *ultimatum* of the Indians, was to make the Ohio the boundary between the United States and themselves.

#### NOTE D.

When General Wayne assumed the position of Greenville, in 1793, he sent for Captain Wells, who commanded a company of scouts, and told him, that "he wished him to go to Sandusky and take a prisoner, for the purpose of obtaining information." Wells (who, having been taken from Kentucky when a boy, and brought up amongst the Indians, was perfectly acquainted with their character) answered, that "he could take a prisoner, but not from Sandusky." "And why not from Sandusky?" said the General. "Because," answered the Captain, "there are only Wyandots there." "Well, why will not Wyandots do?" "For the best of reasons," said Wells, "because Wyandots will not be taken alive."

## WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

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ON the banks of the James River, in Charles City County, Va., is a plain mansion, around which is spread the beautiful estate of *Berkeley*, the birthplace of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and of one of the Presidents of the United States. The former was Benjamin Harrison, and the latter was his son, William Henry Harrison, who was born on the 9th of February, 1773. At a suitable age he was placed in Hampden Sydney College, where he was graduated; and then, under the supervision of his guardian (Robert Morris), in Philadelphia, prepared himself for the practice of the medical art. At about that time, an army was gathering, to chastise the hostile Indians in the North-west. Young Harrison's military genius was stirred within him, and having obtained an ensign's commission from President Washington, he joined the army at the age of nineteen years. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1792; and, in 1794, he followed Wayne to conflicts with the North-western tribes, where he greatly distinguished himself. He was appointed secretary of the North-western Territory in 1797, and resigned his military commission. Two years afterward, when only twenty-six years of age, he was elected the first delegate to Congress from the Territory.\* On the erection of Indiana into a separate territorial government in 1801, Harrison was appointed its chief magistrate, and he was continued in that office, by consecutive reappointments, until 1813,† when the war with Great Britain called him to a more important sphere of action. He had already exhibited his military skill in the battle with the Indians at Tippecanoe, in the autumn of 1811. He was commissioned a major-general in the Kentucky militia, by brevet, early in 1812. After the surrender of General Hull, at Detroit, he was appointed major-general in the army of the United States, and intrusted with the command of the North-western division. He was one of the best officers in that war; but, after achieving the battle of the Thames, and other victories in the lake country, his military services were concluded. He resigned his commission, in 1814, in consequence of a misunderstanding with the Secretary of War, and retired to his farm at North Bend, Ohio. He served as commissioner in negotiating Indian treaties; and the voice of a grateful people

\* It included the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan. General St. Clair was then governor of the Territory.

† He had also held the office of commissioner of Indian affairs, in that Territory, and had concluded no less than thirteen important treaties with the different tribes.

afterward called him to represent them in the legislature of Ohio, and of the nation. He was elected to the Senate of the United States, in 1824. In 1828, he was appointed minister to Colombia, one of the South American Republics. He was recalled, by President Jackson, on account of some differences of opinion respecting diplomatic events in that region, when he returned home, and again sought the repose of private life. There he remained about ten years, when he was called forth to receive from the American people the highest honor in their gift—the chief magistracy of the Republic. He was elected President of the United States by an immense majority, and was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1841. For more than twenty days he bore the unceasing clamors for office, with which the ears of a new president are always assailed; and then his slender constitution, pressed by the weight of almost threescore and ten years, suddenly gave way. The excitements of his new station increased a slight disease caused by a cold, and on the 4th of April, just one month after the inauguration pageant at the presidential mansion, the honored occupant was a corpse. He was succeeded in office by the vice-president, John Tyler.

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WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (born 9 Feb., 1773, Charles City County, Virginia), Ensign 1. infy, 16 Aug., 1791; Lieut. 1. sub-legion, rank from June, 1792. Aid-de-camp to Maj.-Gen. Wayne, and distinguished in his victory on the Miami, 20 Aug., 1794;—in 1. infy, Nov., 1796; Capt., May, 1797; resigned 1 June, 1798. [Secretary of North-west Territory, June, 1798; Representative in Congress from Ohio, 1799 to 1800; Governor of Indiana Territory, 13 May, 1800 to 1813]; commanded as Governor of Indiana Territory in battle of Tippecanoe, 7 Nov., 1811;—Brigadier General, 22 Aug., 1812; Major-General, 2 March, 1813, and commanded Western army; commanded in defence of Fort Meigs, April and May, 1813, and commanded in battle of the Thames, U.C., 5 Oct., 1813; resigned 31 May, 1814. Received the “thanks of Congress,” of April 4, 1818, for “gallantry and good conduct in defeating the combined British and Indian forces under Maj.-Gen. Proctor, on the Thames, in Up. Canada, on the 5 Oct., 1813, capturing the British army, with their baggage, camp equipage, and artillery,” and the presentation of a gold medal “emblematical of this triumph.” [Repr. in Congress, 1816 to 1819;—U. S. Senator from Ohio, 1825 to 1828; Env. Extr. and Min. Plenipo. to Colombia, 24 May, 1828; President of the United States, 4 March, 1841, and died at Washington, D.C., 4 April, 1841.—*Dictionary of the Army of the United States*. By Chas. K. Gardner. New York, 1853.

THE FORT-WAYNE MANUSCRIPT:

AN OLD WRITING (LATELY FOUND) CONTAINING

Indian Speeches

AND A

Treatise on the Western Indians.

EDITED AND ANNOTATED

BY HIRAM W. BECKWITH, DANVILLE, ILL.



## INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

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THE Fort Wayne manuscript, or rather that part of it containing the Indian Speeches delivered in the two Councils held Sept. 4th and Oct. 2d, 1811, at Ft. Wayne, Ind., and hitherto unpublished, is a missing link of much interest and value in the border history of the Northwest. To illustrate the place it occupies in the chain of events and explain the relations it sustains to them, it becomes necessary to recur briefly to the condition which the Indian affairs in the Indiana and Illinois Territories were in, shortly before and at the time when these Ft. Wayne conferences were held.

About the year 1805, the peaceful relations, established by the treaty of Greenville in 1795, between the white and the red people became seriously disturbed through the conduct of two Shawnee brothers, "*Te-cum-thea*"\* and "*Lo-la-wa-chi-ca*"—"The Loud Voice", otherwise and better known as "*The Prophet*".

\* It is stated by Gov. Harrison in his Memoirs, edited by Moses Dawson, that "*Te-cum-the*" is the Indian pronunciation of the name; while Judge James Hall, in his "Memoir" of Gov. Harrison, and Dr. Benjamin Drake, in his "*Life of Tecumshe*", as he spells the name, state its meaning to be the "Crouching Panther". The latter author says, "that on assuming the sacred office of Prophet, '*Lau-le-was-i-kaw*' changed his name to '*Lens-kwau-ta-wau*,' meaning the open door, because he had undertaken to point out to the Indians the new life which they should pursue." In the text we have followed the orthography and the interpretation of the name as given by Gov. Harrison at a time when he was directly referring to it, in connection with a speech delivered by the Prophet on the occasion of his two weeks' visit with the Governor at Vincennes, in August, 1808. The Prophet and *Te-cum-the*—for whom the former was merely the mouth-piece—avowed that his voice should be heard, as in time it was, among all the tribes, from the gulf to the most northern lakes and westward to the mountains. Hence the significance of the name *Loud Voice*.

The Prophet claimed a mission from the Great Spirit to reform the manners of the red people, and to revive all those customs that had been discontinued by their two common and frequent intercourse with the white people. All the innovations in dress, food, arms, and manners derived from the whites were to be discarded; in reward for which they were promised a restoration of all the comfort and happiness enjoyed by their ancestors, of which they had so often heard their old sages speak, on condition, however, of an implicit obedience to the will and orders of the Prophet. He pretended to foretell future events, declared himself invulnerable to the weapons of his enemies, and promised like immunity to those of his proselytes who would devote themselves wholly to his services.

Roving for a while among the surrounding tribes, making a convert here and there, the brothers took quarters at Gen. Wayne's old cantonment at Greenville, Ohio, and soon gathered with them about one hundred Shawnee warriors from the several bands of that nation, living in scattered villages on the head-waters of the Au Glaize, White River, the Mississinewa, and elsewhere, together with a few followers recruited from other tribes. Within a few months the number of Shawnees were reduced by desertions to about forty or fifty, and the residue of the Prophet's followers were chiefly composed of the riff-raff of other tribes, many of whom had fled for their crimes.

The Prophet's band remained at Greenville through the years 1806 and 7, increasing, the while, in its number of excited, religious fanatics, ready, it was feared, for any enterprise on which the Prophet or his brother might be inclined to lead them, and great fears were entertained by the inhabitants of the border white settlements for their own safety. Complaints were accordingly made, in response to which Capt. Wm. Wells, then Indian agent at Fort Wayne, sent Anthony Shane, a half-blood Shawnee, to Greenville with a copy the President's letter contained in a communication from the secretary of war; the substance of which was that Te-cum-the and his party, being upon grounds lately purchased by Gov. Harrison from its rightful owners, should remove to some point beyond the general boundaries stipulated

in the treaty of Greenville in 1795. The council-fire being lighted, Shane stated the object of his mission, and invited the brothers to a conference at Fort Wayne. Whereupon Tecumthe, without consulting the opinions of those around him, arose and said to the messenger: "Go back to Fort Wayne, and tell Capt. Wells that *my* fire is kindled on the spot appointed by the Great Spirit above; and if he has any communication to make to me, *he* must come *here*."

The excitement increased, and in a letter from Capt. Wells to Gov. Harrison, of date May 25, 1807, it was stated that, within a short time then past, not less than fifteen hundred Indians had gone or returned through Ft. Wayne in their visitations to the Prophet and Tecumthe at Greenville. And, in the month of August of that year, persons living in the north and western parts of the Indiana Territory, and familiar with the state of Indian affairs, estimated the number of Indians at Ft. Wayne and Greenville, who were supposed to be under the influence of these Shawnee brothers, at seven or eight hundred men, most of whom were armed with new rifles, and well provided with ammunition, supplied from Canada. The governor of Ohio, being officially advised of these facts, took measures to rid his State of such a dangerous assemblage. Gov. Harrison, of the Indiana Territory, also took an active and efficient part in the common purpose to disperse the Prophet and his adherents. The result of these combined efforts was, that early in the year 1808 the Prophet and his partisans moved from Greenville, and, to the future and very great annoyance of Gov. Harrison, as well as to all the inhabitants claiming his protection, took up their residence in the Indiana Territory, on the west bank of the Wabash, a short distance below the mouth of the Tippecanoe River, where they established the village known to fame as "*The Prophet's town*".

Tecumthe and the Prophet claimed that the new grounds upon which they thus settled had been granted to them by the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos; these latter, however, had no title at all, being only squatters themselves, having years before, and by sheer force of superior numbers, intruded themselves into the domain of the Miamies, to whom all that part of the Wabash country rightfully belonged.

The Prophet had little influence among the immediately-adjoining tribes such as the Miamies, Delawares, Shawnees, and some of the Pottawatomies, whose chiefs and elder men knew he was an impostor, and would have nothing to do with his plans, in the execution of which they only foresaw harm to themselves and their families. It was with the remote tribes that his fame was blazoned, and to whom his miracles without number were communicated. The party attached to him, relying on his promises of food and raiment by divine interposition, neglected to hunt or plant, and were often starving for want of subsistence, while reports were spread abroad that they were enjoying every luxury and ease. Thus were the upper-lake Indians, and those between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, and especially the Winnebagoes and the Kickapoos of the Illinois Prairies, deluded by fabulous reports, industriously circulated among them by Tecumthe and other emissaries of the Prophet. Tecumthe combined in his character great subtlety, cunning, and an indomitable perseverance; and while his brother remained at home he was itinerating among the most distant tribes, and making proselytes to his and his brother's schemes. Keeping himself and his ulterior aims in the background, it is now known that he was the principal means by which the extravagant stories of his brother's supernatural powers were propagated.

The general discontent among the Indians, caused by the scarcity of game, the rapidly-advancing skirmish line of white settlements—the sure forerunner of a denser population—upon their hunting-grounds, and, perhaps, more than all, the threatened war with Great Britain, were eagerly seized upon by Tecumthe, and hastened the time when he thought he might come out from under the shadow of the Prophet, and declare his long-kept purpose of forming a confederation of all the Indian tribes; abrogate all treaties previously made with the United States relative to the cession of lands; drive the whites eastward and south beyond the Ohio River, and ever after hold the conquered territory as the common property of the victors, with no right of a disposal of any part of it, except with the given consent of all. It was a revival of the plan undertaken by Pontiac at the conclusion of

the French-Colonial War; and again espoused by the confederated Northwestern tribes soon after the establishment of peace between the United States and Great Britain in 1784.\*

Matters grew daily worse at the Prophet's town, which had now become the common refuge of all the Indian vagabonds in the country; horse-thieves and pilferers of other property; wild blades who would, every now and then, surprise a pioneer's cabin, standing remotely out beyond the well-defined lines of white settlements, and cowardly murder the indwelling women and children, found welcome shelter at the Prophet's town, and a ready friend and paliator for their crimes in the person of either Tecumthe or his brother. Gov. Ninian Edwards, of the Illinois Territory, made frequent complaints of depredations committed upon his settlements along the Mississippi, incited from or by perpetrators harbored at this plague-spot on the Wabash. Inhabitants of the lower Embarrass and in the neighborhood of Vincennes could only go about their work with their rifles always in hand; and the town itself was, time and again, threatened with destruction. Indeed, several peaceful Indians of the Delaware and Piankeshaw tribes warned the Governor of the great danger to themselves as well as to the whites, and said they intended to flee beyond the Mississippi to escape the storm that was threatening from the Prophet's town.

In the meantime, Gov. Harrison—in whom the people of the Indiana and Illinois Territories had unbounded confidence—continued his unremitting efforts to secure their peace and safety. His correspondence with heads of the departments at Washington abundantly shows that during the whole period covered by the events under consideration he kept the Government fully advised of the movements of the Prophet and Tecumthe, and as often suggested the necessity of active measures to arrest the mischief they were doing. He labored with a zeal then little understood, though now fully appreciated, and largely succeeded in keeping the bulk of the surrounding tribes from the contaminations of the Shawnee brothers, and in this way did much to save

\* "He boasted [through his medium, the Prophet] that he would follow the footsteps of the great Pontiac;" *vide* Gov. Harrison's Memoirs.

the settlements intrusted to his care from the terrible consequences that otherwise would have followed. He sent frequent messengers to the Miamis and Pottawatomies, demanding that they should drive the Prophet and his horde away from the domain claimed by these two tribes; but they, in their ignorance and terror at the threats of the Prophet, did not dare to resort to force. They could only look on silently and abide the result of events. No threats or persuasions would induce the Prophet to leave, who, with his brother, now additionally stimulated with words of encouragement of British-Canadian agents, threatened open war. The Governor again sent a messenger to the Prophet's town, to whom Tecumthe denied an intention of making war, but most solemnly declared that it was not possible to remain friends of the United States, unless they would abandon all idea of making settlements further to the north and westward. "The Great Spirit," said he, "gave this great island to his red children; he placed the whites on the other side of the big water; they were not contented with their own, but came to take ours from us. They have driven us from the sea to the lakes; we can go no further. They have taken upon themselves to say this tract belongs to the Miamis, this to the Delawares, etc.; but the Great Spirit intended it as the common property of all. Our Father [Gov. Harrison] tells us that we have no business upon the Wabash, that the land belongs to other tribes; but the Great Spirit ordered us to come here, and here we will stay."

Seemingly the general government did not comprehend the situation, or was indifferent to the results that would follow from the course to which affairs in the western territories were rapidly drifting. At last matters culminated, on the 31st of July, 1811, when a public meeting was called at Vincennes, at which it was resolved, in substance, that no security to life and property could be had other than by breaking up the combination of the Shawnee Prophet on the Wabash; that it was impolitic and injurious to the inhabitants of the United States as to those of the Indiana Territory to permit a formidable banditti, constantly increasing in numbers, to occupy a position which enables them to strike the border settlements without the least warning; that the combina-

tion headed by the Shawnee Prophet was a British scheme, and that the latter's agents constantly inciting the Indians to hostilities against the United States. A committee, consisting of leading citizens, among whom was the venerable Francis Vigo, was selected to prepare an address to President James Madison, embodying the resolutions passed at the meeting. The address was forwarded. The Government, it appears, had anticipated the request; for the secretary of war, in two letters addressed, July 17th and July 20th, 1811, respectively, to Gov. Harrison, advised him that the 4th Regiment, U. S. Infantry, with a company of riflemen, making in all five hundred men, under command of Col. John P. Boyd,\* had been ordered forward from Pittsburg, and were to be at the disposal of the Governor, with the precautionary restriction, however, that the force was not to be used in the suppression of the banditti under the Prophet, "unless such a course should be rendered absolutely necessary, as circumstances at that juncture rendered it especially desirable to the President that hostilities (of any kind, or to any degree not indispensably required) should be avoided."

The Governor, having his plans matured, his militia and other troops in hand, once more prepared a speech, addressed to the several Indian tribes, calling upon them to disperse the Prophet's band and calling upon its members to immediately return to their respective tribes; requiring from the Miamis an absolute disavowal of all connection with the Prophet, and, they being the owners of the land he occupied, to prevail upon them to express to him their disapproval of the Prophet and his adherents from longer remaining there. One of these speeches was taken to Fort Wayne by Capt. Tousant Dubois, and its explanation to the tribes assembled there in council called out the speeches of September

\* John P. Boyd, born in 1768; appointed from Massachusetts [was in the Mahratta service in the East Indies; rose to the rank of commander of 10,000 cavalry] colonel 4th Infantry, 7 Oct., 1808; commanded a brigade in Battle of Tippecanoe and distinguished himself, 7 Nov., 1811; brigadier-general, 26 Aug., 1812; led his brigade in the capture of Ft. George. U. C., 27 May, 1813; disbanded, 15 June, 1815. Afterward naval officer of Port of Boston. Died at Boston, Mass., 4 Oct., 1830.—GARDNER.

4th and October 2d, 1811, found in the Ft. Wayne manuscript.\*

The prelude of the war of 1812 was fairly upon us, although the formal declaration of it was made in the following June.

The portion of the Ft. Wayne manuscript following the Indian speeches shows the author of it to have been a well-informed and candid writer. His statements of facts, dates, names, etc., harmonize in the main with creditable works since in print—the most notable variance from them being his account as to the number of Indians engaged at the battle of Tippecanoe. He must have had an intimate and long acquaintance with the Indians; and the information preserved in his manuscript as coming to his knowledge from them as to their military engagements with the whites, is, for the most part, not only new, but valuable historical matter.

Among the authorities consulted or drawn upon in the collation of the preface and notes, as well, also, the foot-notes running through the printed text of the Ft. Wayne manuscript, the following may be named: "The American State Papers"; "U. S. Treaties with the Indian Tribes"; "Life of Tecumshe", by Dr. Benj. Drake; Harvey's "Shawnee Indians"; Hall & McKinney's "History N. A. Indians"; "History of Ohio", by Caleb Atwater; Howe's "Ohio Historical Collections"; "History of Indiana", by the late John B. Dillon; "Historical Notes of the Northwest",

\* It may be added that these missives had no more effect in arresting the climax than if the paper on which they were scribed had been thrown upon the sea. The frenzied mob at the mouth of the Tippecanoe could hardly await the advancing tread of Gov. Harrison's army. The Governor, although complained of by some of his officers for not assaulting the town upon sight, the soldiers being eager for battle, kept rigidly within the letter and spirit of his instructions, and declined a resort to force until every effort toward a peaceful solution of difficulties had been exhausted. With the power to compel an obedience to his orders, he again demanded the occupants of the village to disperse. It being nearly night, a suspension of hostilities was agreed to, with a view to a friendly conference on the following morning. The Prophet, fearing the issue, or supposing he could effect a surprise, set his maddened warriors upon the Governor's encampment, under cover of darkness, made more dense by a drizzling rain, that fell dank and chill upon the silent though wakeful army, on the morning of November 7, 1811. A terrible defeat, the burning of the village, and the loss of the Prophet's power, was the result of his rash act.

by the same author—both works being of the highest historical value for their accuracy of statement; Judge John Law's "History of Vincennes"; Mann Butler's "History of Kentucky"; "History of the War [of 1812], and Views of the Campaigns of the Northwestern Army", by Samuel R. Brown; "History of the Late War in the Western Country", by Capt. Robt. M'Affe; "Memoirs of Gen. Harrison", by Moses Dawson; "Memoir of Gen. Harrison", by Judge James Hall; "Life of Gov. Ninian Edwards" [of Illinois]; The Indian Vocabularies respectively of Col. John Johnson; Prof. Edwin James; Thos. L. McKenney (of the Indian Department); Henry R. Schoolcraft; Capt. John Carver; Alexander McKenzie; David Zeisberger's and Edward F. Wilson's several Grammars and Dictionaries of the Delaware and O'Jebway languages; Albert Gallatin's "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America". All which are acknowledged as sources of original and reliable information.

✍ The manuscript from which the following pages were set was received in April, 1882, from S. A. Gibson, superintendent of the Kalamazoo Paper Company, Kalamazoo, Mich., and was written in the same hand at different times, on twenty-eight pages of foolscap paper, apparently as old as the dates thereon. Each page has an anchor water-mark. Mr. Gibson took these pages, evidently torn from a book, from a large bundle of similar papers that had been recently received at the mills from Fort Wayne, Ind.—F.

**Speeches delivered in General Council, at Fort Wayne,  
on the 4th day of September, 1811, by the different Chiefs of  
the Miami Tribe of Indians, in Answer to a Speech from his  
Excellency, Wm. H. Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory.**

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**SPEECH OF LAPRUSIEUR,\* ORATOR FOR THE WEAS, A  
BRANCH OF THE MIAMIE TRIBE OF INDIANS.**

**WILLIAM H. HARRISON, GOVERNOR OF INDIANA TERRITORY, LISTEN TO  
WHAT I HAVE TO SAY:**

You now tell us that we are on a wrong road, a road that will lead us to destruction. You are deceived. When I was walking along, I heard you speak respecting the Shawanoe (Prophet). You said we were of his party. I hold you and the Shawanoe both by the hand; I hold him slack. You have both told me one thing: that if I would adhere to you, that my people (the women and children) would be happy. The hearts of the Miamies are good. The Great Spirit has placed them on the choicest spot of ground; and we are now anxiously waiting to see which of you tells the truth.

Now, Father, for the first time your eyes are open. When you

\* LePousser [French], A-she-non-qua in the Miami dialect, signifying the Speech Maker, the Persuader, or Talker. At the Treaty, held October 26, 1809, at Vincennes, this chief's name is signed Lapousier [the article La and the word Pousser run together as in the Ft. Wayne manuscript], while at the "Treaty of Peace and Friendship," between the U. S. and the Miamis and other hostile tribes in the war of 1812, executed at Greenville, Ohio, July 22, 1814, his name appears thus, "La-passiere or A-she-non-qua." *Vide* "History of the War" [of 1812], by Sam'l R. Brown; vol. ii; Appendix, where the text of the Treaty is supplemented with the signers' names interpreted and carefully spaced so as to preserve the correct sound in their pronunciation.

The Weas, for whom A-she-non-qua was a leading orator, were a band of the Miami tribe having their principal village on the east bank of the Wabash, below Lafayette, and above Attica, Indiana, and known in early history as Ouitanon, or the Wea-town. The name is yet preserved, and the identity of the neighborhood retained, in its bestowal upon "Wea-Prairie" and "Wea-Creek." *Vide* Chamberlain's Indiana Gazetteer.

cast them on your children you see they are poor; some of them are even destitute of the necessities of life. We want ammunition to support our women and children; this has compelled us to undertake our present journey.

Father, we have not let you go; we yet hold you by the hand; nor do we hold the hand of the Prophet with a view to injure you. I therefore tell you that you are not correct when you supposed we joined hands with the Prophet to injure you. Father, I listened to you a few days ago, when you pointed out to me the depredations of murder committed by the Indians on the Mississippi. I told you that I and my people had no wish to join in acts of that kind. I told you that we both loved our people, and that it gives us pleasure when we see them standing around us; that we should deprive ourselves of this pleasure if we commenced a war with each other, as a war would be the destruction of both parties. You always told me that our great Father, the President of the United States, has placed you here for good purposes; that his heart is good toward his red children! How then does it happen that our Father's heart is changed toward his red children.

Father, you have called upon us to fulfil the Treaty of Greenville.\* In that treaty it is stipulated that we should give information if we knew of any hostile design of a foreign power against each other. I now tell you that no information from any quarter has reached our ears to injure any of your people (except from yourself). You have told us that the thunder begins to roll.

Father, your speech has overtaken us here. We have heard it, it has not scared us; we are not afraid of what you say. We are going on to that country which has been frequented by Tecumseh, and we shall be able to know, in the course of our journey,

\* The Treaty of Greenville, concluded August 3d, 1795, at Fort Greenville [upon the site of Greenville, County-seat of Darke Co., Ohio], was the finale of a bitter warfare waged by the Indians against the encroaching advances of civilized society upon their hunting-grounds. The struggle began before the Revolutionary War had ended, and closed with the memorable victory of Gen. Wayne over the confederated tribes of the [then] Northwest Territory, at the foot of Maumee Rapids [near South Toledo, Ohio], upon the 20th of August, 1784. No longer able to contend, the Sachams and war-chiefs of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Kickapoos, etc., etc., met Gen. Wayne in council at Greenville, and executed the Treaty; containing, among other matters, in its 9th article, the stipulation to which A-she-non-quah here refers in reply to Gov. Harrison's complaints that it had not been enforced against the malcontents assembled at, or gathering from every direction to, the "Prophet's Town."

whether he has told us lies or not: that all the Indians are of the same opinion that he is; but when we return, we shall be able to inform you whether what Tecumseh has told us be true or not.

Now, Father, you have heard what I have to say; you will hear it well what comes from me.

Father, you have told me twice you were angry with me. I went to see you with my warriors with me when we were sitting face to face, and toes to toes; you told me that the Indians on the Mississippi had struck your people, and I said nothing to you. You tell us that you sent a messenger after us; that we insulted your messenger, yourself, and our great Father. This is twice you have said you were angry with us! We have looked for the cause, but can find none.

Father, we, the Miamies, are not a people that are passionate: we are not so easily made angry as it appears you are! Our hearts are as heavy as the earth! Our minds are not easily irritated. We don't tell people we are angry with them for light causes; we are afraid if we did fly in a passion for no cause we should make ourselves contemptible in the eyes of others. We therefore hope you will no more say you are angry with us, lest you should make yourself contemptible to others. We have told you we would not get angry for light causes. We have our eyes on our lands on the Wabash, with a strong determination to defend our rights, let them be invaded from what quarter they may. When our best interests are invaded, we will defend them to a man, and be angry but once.

Father, now consider what your children, the Miamies, have said to you. You have offered the war-club to us; you have laid at our feet and told us we might pick it up, if we chosed. We have refused to do so; and we hope that this circumstance will prove to you that we are people of good hearts. We hope, Father, you will not be angry any more with us, we will not be angry with you. This is all I have to say to you at present.\*

\* When considered with reference to the guarded manner in which the Indian is accustomed to avow hostile purposes, A-she-non-qua's speech is a notable specimen of defiant oratory. Firy and bold, it reflects the feelings and desperate purposes of Te-cum-the and his deluded followers, and is in singular contrast with the utterances of Little Turtle and other speakers, who, with cooler heads, foresaw the calamity that would come upon their people in the end, if the threatened war was precipitated. Gov. Harrison, in an official letter dated from Vincennes, September 17, 1811, referring to this council, says: " \* \* \* succeeded in getting the chiefs together at Fort Wayne, though he found them all preparing to go to Malden. [Amherstburgh, Canada,

## SPEECH OF SILVER HEELS, A MASSASSINWAY CHIEF.\*

He informed his people that he conceived it greatly to the interest of his nation that a decisive answer should be given to their great Father's speech; that he had asked for it, and he was entitled to receive it; that for himself he had always detested the Prophet and his party; and that the interest of their nation required that the Miamies should have no connexion with him; that in case a misunderstanding should take place between the United States and the Prophet, it is the interest of our nation to remain neutral, and hold our Father by the hand. My chiefs and warriors now present, I hope this will be the answer that you will send to our great Father, the President of the United States.

near the mouth of Detroit River, in the upper part of which village was Fort Malden, under whose protecting guns most of the vessels for the British upper-lake service were built, and the principal depot from which supplies for the fur-trade and presents to the Indians were distributed.] The result of the council discovered that the whole tribes—including the Weas and Eel Rivers, for they are all Miamis—were about equally divided in favor of the Prophet and the United States." "La-pousier, the Wea chief, whom I before mentioned to you as being seduced by the Prophet, was repeatedly asked by \* \* \* [Capt. Dubois] what land it was that he determined to defend with his blood; whether it was that which was ceded by the late treaty [of September 30, 1809, whereby the Indians had yielded their claim to three several large bodies of land in Indiana and Eastern Illinois] or not, but he would give no answer. \* \* \* reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been, or now are, on a visit to the British agents at Malden. He has never known one-fourth as many goods given to the Indians as they are now" receiving, etc.

\* On the Miss-iss-sin-e-wa River, commencing at its mouth near Peru, Indiana, and extending up the stream a number of miles, were, at intervals, several Miami villages, over one of which Silver Heels was a presiding chief. On the 14th of December, 1812, a mounted expedition of 600 men, commanded by Col. John B. Campbell, of the 19th Regiment, U. S. Infantry, left Dayton, Ohio, to destroy these towns; three of which he burned, and destroyed a large amount of other property, including many horses and cattle. Eight warriors were killed, and forty-two prisoners, counting women and children taken. The emergency of the hour fully justified Gov. Harrison in ordering this movement. He especially requested Col. Campbell to spare the lives of Silver Heels, the White Loon (and other chiefs whom he names), "who had undeviatingly exerted themselves to keep their warriors quiet and to preserve their friendly relations with us." *Vide* Gov. Harrison's instructions to Col. C. and the latter's official report to the former.

## ADDRESS OF OSEEMIT, A PUTTAWATAMIE CHIEF.\*

I do not want what I am now going to say to be written down; but I think it is the interest of my nation that I should make some few observations. It appears to me that some of my younger brothers, residing on the Wabash, have got in a wrong road; that our Father has told them of it, and it is not too late for them to return. We, the Puttawatamie chiefs, have told our young men not to listen to the Prophet, but, notwithstanding, some of them were foolish enough to believe what he said.

## ADDRESS OF CHARLEY, AN EEL-RIVER CHIEF.†

Laprusieure has come forward and made a speech, without consulting or knowing the opinion of the Indians, which I conceive to be very improper.

\* At the Treaty of Fort Wayne, concluded September 30, 1809, this chief is designated as "Ossemeet, brother to Five Medals"; while his name appears to the great Treaty signed at Chicago, August 29, 1821, as "Os-see-meet." The name is probably derived from, or is a corruption of, the word "Osh-e-may-un", *i.e.*, younger brother, and expressive of the idea that his claims to consideration were because of this relationship to the "Five Medals", who was a noted sacham and warrior. See note to the latter's speech, p. 73.

† A chief of that subdivision of the Miamis who were called Eel-Rivers (and Eel-Creeks), for the reason that their ancient and principal village—known by the Indians as Ke-na-pa-com-a-quā, to the early French writers as L'Anguille [the Eel], and to the Americans as the "Eel-River Town"—was situated on this stream, some six miles above its confluence with the Wabash at Logansport, Ind. However, it is evident, from Gov. Harrison's instructions to Col. Campbell, already referred to, that Charley lived in one of the villages on the Miss-iss-sin-e-wa, which Col. Campbell was ordered to destroy; for among those whose lives were to be saved is named that of "Charley, the principal of the Eel-River Tribe." This chief figures at several of the treaties, on behalf of his tribe, both before and after the war of 1812, as "Ka-Tun-ga", "Ke-tan-ga" (with the addition of "Charley"); and, in some instances, as simply Charley. His aboriginal name—the signification of which is nowhere given—appears distilled through uneducated French or American interpreters, or written down by careless secretaries, and is neither Indian, French, or English, but savors of the corruption of all.

His people were swept over to the British by the current of events immediately following Gen. Hull's surrender of Detroit, and which carried with it nearly all the other Northwestern tribes. The failure of the attack upon Fort Harrison, near Terre Haute, Ind., September 4, 1812, and upon Fort Wayne early in this month, together with the energy Gov. Harrison displayed in

## SPEECH OF LITTLE TURTLE, A MIAMIE CHIEF.\*

GOVERNOR HARRISON:

Father, your speech by Mr. Dubois was communicated to us organizing the militia of Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky, all ablaze with enthusiasm, to recover the prestige and territory lost by the unexplainable conduct of Gen. Hull at Detroit, thoroughly alarmed those of the Miamis who had taken sides with Te-cum-the and the British. Accordingly we learn, from an official letter of Gov. Harrison, dated Franklinton, O., October 13, 1812, that: "Before I left St. Mary's for Defiance, some Miamis had arrived, *via* Fort Wayne, with a flag and a message from their chiefs, begging for peace. I had no time then to listen to their speech, and, on my return here, I found the Owl [a distinguished chief, who had long been a confidential friend of the Governor], Charley, the Eel-River chief, the Turtle's son, and several others who had joined them. They came prepared to palliate or deny the hostility of their tribe, as one or the other might best suit their purpose. \* \* \*"

Charley survived the war, and was living as late as October 6, 1818, when he, with other "chiefs and warriors of the Miami nation of Indians", executed the Treaty of St. Mary's; and he was dead before October 23, 1826, when, at the treaty held at the mouth of the Miss-iss-sin-e-wa, a reservation of "five sections of land, above the *old* village on the north side of Eel River," was made in favor of his son "Little Charley". *Vide* Indian Treaties with the United States.

\* Misch-e-can-o-quoh, or the Little Turtle, agreeably to the best received authorities, "was of mixed origin"—his mother being a Mohegan woman and his father a Miami chief—born about the year 1747, at the latter's village on the upper waters of Eel River, some twenty miles west of Ft. Wayne. He planned and won decisive victories in the two engagements against detachments of Gen. Harmer's army, near Ft. Wayne, in October, 1790; was conspicuous as the leader in the attack, on the morning of November 4, 1791, upon the forces of Gov. St. Clair, that resulted in the terrible disaster known in history as "St. Clair's Defeat", and which was without a parallel in Indian warfare until the disastrous engagement of Gen. Custer, on the Little Big-Horn River of the Upper Missouri. He was also in the action of June 30, 1794, in the severe attack upon Major McMahon's escort of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons, under the walls of "Fort Recovery", a military post erected in December, 1793, upon the ground where St. Clair had been defeated. Satisfied that the Indian confederation could not successfully contend with Gen. Wayne, he advised them to listen to the latter's overtures for peace. Overruled in this, lead his own warriors in the battle of August 20, 1794, known as the "Battle of the Fallen Timbers", in which Gen. Wayne achieved a decisive victory. From this time forward, the Little Turtle was the open and abiding friend of the United States. He would before this have broken away

yesterday.\* Father, your children, the Miamies of the Wabash, are all glad of what you say. These are the sentiments of the Indians:

Father, you have asked us whether we are prepared to take part with the Prophet, or still hold you fast by the hand. This question causes us to believe that a misunderstanding has taken place between you and some of our people that have visited you lately; it also appears that you have made known your intentions to the Puttawatamies, respecting the Prophet. You have told the Puttawatamies and other Indians residing on the Wabash to

from the malign influence operating from Canada through its agents and traders, but he was powerless to carry his people with him until after they had suffered serious reverses.

At the Treaty of Greenville, he shone as the brightest light in the assembled orators, gathered at this great council-fire from the entire Northwest, to plead the cause of their tribes and of their starving women and children.

After the conclusion of peace, Little Turtle resided at his village, where the Government had built him a comfortable house. "He took," says Gov. Harrison, "great interest in everything that appertained to civilized life, and possessed a mind capable of understanding their advantages, in a degree far superior to any other Indian." In his character he combined, in an eminent degree, the qualities of the military strategist, the wily diplomat, the orator, and the philosopher, winning distinction in all.

He died of gout, July 14, 1812, on the side of the St. Marys River, opposite Ft. Wayne, in the orchard yard of his son-in-law, Capt. Wm. Wells, from whose house, at his own request, he had been removed to the open air. He was buried upon the spot with military honors, by the troops of the garrison, and with his remains were deposited the sword and large silver medal presented by President Washington, and his other war implements and ornaments. *Vide* "History of the War"; "Memoirs of Gen. Harrison"; Brice's Fort Wayne; etc., etc.

\* Capt. Toussant Dubois, of an ancient family of Vincennes, near which he also resided. An Indian trader, and for many years a confidential messenger and spy for Gov. Harrison, who reposed great confidence in his energy, fidelity, and intelligence. As captain of a company of spies and guides, he rendered conspicuous services in the Tippecanoe campaign of October and November, 1811. He became a large owner of lands on the Embarrass River, within the present limits of Lawrence County, Illinois, as assignee of original claimants under grants reserved to the ancient inhabitants of Vincennes. *Vide* Harrison's Memoirs; Dillon's Indiana; American State Papers, etc. The late Jesse K. Dubois, long State treasurer of Illinois, and well known throughout the State for his genial and sterling qualities, was a descendant of the subject of this note.

leave him; you have told the Miamies the same; these are things that surprise us. The transactions which took place between the Indians and white people at Greenville are yet fresh in our minds. At that place, we told each other that we would in future be friends, doing all the good we could to each other, and raise our children in peace and quietness. These are yet the sentiments of your children, the Miamies.

Father, you have told us you would draw a line; that your children should stand on one side and the Prophet on the other. We, the Miamies, wish to be considered in the same light by you, as we were at the treaty of Greenville, holding fast to that treaty which united us, Miamies and Puttawatamies, to the United States.

Father, listen to what I have to say; it is our request that you pay particular attention to it: We pray you not to bloody our ground, if you can avoid it. In the first instance, let the Prophet be requested, in mild terms, to comply with your wishes; and avoid, if possible, the spilling of blood. The lands on the Wabash are ours. We have not placed the Prophet there; but, on the contrary, have endeavoured to stop his going there. He must be considered as settling there without our leave.

Father, I must again repeat that you said you should draw a line between your children and the Prophet. We are not pleased at this, because we think you have no reason to doubt our friendship toward you. I have not said much to you, but I think I have said enough for the present; my words are few, but my meaning great. I shall close by requesting you will pay particular attention to what I have said. This is all, Father, I have to say; I have said it in the presence of your messenger, the commanding officer, your people, and all mine.

#### SPEECH OF OSEEMIT, A PUTTAWATAMIE CHIEF.

I have said that I am here alone; I have come to attend to the interest of my women and children; I have thought it my duty to do so, as the other chiefs of my nation are absent.

When I heard the words of my Father, we, the Puttawatamies, inhabiting the Lakes, from Chicago around to the east, are of the same opinion as those of the Miamies, just delivered by the Little Turtle; notwithstanding some of our foolish young men have killed some of the whites. We, the chiefs of our nation, have told our young men not to listen to any bad birds that are flying in the air; but some of them have been led astray, inasmuch as they have not followed our advice, and have imprudently involved themselves in difficulties. We, the chiefs of the Putta-

watamies, are determined that their faults shall not be charged to our nation. We, the Puttawatamies and Miamies, have been friends from our infancy. We shall continue to be so; their sentiments are ours, and ours theirs.

Father, what we said to each other at the treaty of Greenville is fresh in our memories. We there told each other that improper conduct of individuals should not reinvolve us in difficulties; this must also be fresh in your memories, as you wrote it down, and I hope it will long be remembered by both of us. I have nothing further to say.\*

#### ADDRESS OF WHITE LOON, A WABASH CHIEF.†

You have heard what my uncle, the Little Turtle, has said; and my opinion is the same.

#### LITTLE TURTLE ADDRESSED THE MIAMIES.

I told my people, when they were going to see the Governor, not to say anything respecting the land; that they had signed the paper closing the sales of the land, and that the treaty for that land was a fair and honorable one. I also told them to have nothing to do with the Prophet, that the Prophet was an enemy of Governor Harrison's, and Harrison of his; that if they formed any kind of connexion with the Prophet, it would make Governor Harrison an enemy of theirs.

FORT WAYNE, *2d October, 1811.*

#### SPEECH OF FIVE MEDALS, A PUTTAWATAMIE CHIEF.‡ ADDRESSED TO HIS EXCELLENCY, WILLIAM H. HARRISON, GOVERNOR OF

\* Os-see-meet here protests that he is delegated with no authority; that he had only come to town to make purchases for his family; and that, inasmuch as the other chiefs having the right to represent his nation in council were absent, he deemed it his duty to communicate his and their views.

† Wap-a [White] Man-gua [Loon], and by this name he signed the Treaty of Greenville. His village was one of the three burned on the Miss-iss-sin-e-wa by Col. Campbell.

‡ A celebrated war-chief of the River St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, whose village was upon the Elkhart Tributary of that stream, in Northern Indiana. He is recognized under various names, *viz.*: at the Treaty of Greenville as "Wau-gshe"—from "*Wau-gese*", the Odjibwa name for a favorite silver ornament in the shape of and called a "Half-Moon"—at the second Treaty of Peace executed at Greenville, July 22, 1814, he is written down as "O-nox-a, or Five Medals"; while, at the Treaty of Spring Wells, near Detroit, in 1815, his name is affixed to the parchment as "Noun-geesia, or Five Medals".

INDIANA TERRITORY; DELIVERED IN THE PRESENCE OF TOPENAPA,\* THE HEAD CHIEF OF THE PUTTAWATAMIE TRIBE OF INDIANS, AND ALSO IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MIAMI CHIEF, LITTLE TURTLE, AND OTHERS.

Father and friend: We your children, the Puttawatamies and Miamies, now take you by the hand as friends, and thank the Great Spirit above in enabling us to do so.

Father, you have spoke to my brothers, the Miamies, and also to the Puttawatamies. Your words reached my place of residence during my absence, consequently I was not able to understand what you said as well as I wished, therefore I came to Fort Wayne.

Father, on my arrival at this place, I sent for my friend, the Little Turtle, in order that I might know to a certainty what you had said; I have seen him, and he has given me the information I asked for, and further states that he has himself already answered you; and it only remains for me now to answer you.

Father, I now tell you the opinion of your children, the Puttawatamies and Miamies; we are but one people, and we speak with but one voice, therefore, I now request you to pay particular attention to what I say, as I now speak the sentiments of them all.

When our chiefs arise in the morning and see the clear sky; when they see the beautiful streams of water that are running, which is to be used by their women and children in peace and quietness; when they see the beautiful green woods around them, which was made for their use, and their women and children enjoying these blessings in peace and quietness, they thank the Great Spirit for his goodness toward them, and pray to him that he may continue these blessings forever.

Father, the words which you are now listening to are the sentiments of your children. We wish to live in peace with all the world; and request of you to have pity on our younger brothers that reside on the Wabash.

Father, after I heard your words, I looked down the Wabash,

The two are synonymous, the first being compounded from "Noun", Five, and "Gee-sia", medals or ornaments, in the Pottawatomie dialect, allowing for a somewhat defective spelling that fails to fully preserve the sound of the word as the Indian would pronounce it. He wore upon his person medals presented to him by both British and American authorities, with other ornaments, from which he came to be designated as "The Five Medals".

\* To-pen-ne-bee, principal chief of the Pottawatomie nation, the protector of Mr. Kinzie's family at the Chicago massacre, narrated in Mrs. Kinzie's "Wau-Bun".

and saw that the Shawanoe Prophet had led some of our younger people, Puttawatamies and Miamies, astray. I have understood, Father, that you wished to see me; whether to believe or disbelieve this information I know not; yet, if it is your wish to see me, you should have given me information of it in writing, and that by the way of Fort Wayne.

Father, if you should want to say anything to us, speak to us through our old friend, Capt. William Wells,\* in whom we all have entire confidence, and then your words will be attended to immediately.

Father, I do not know that I have much more to say to you at present, after observing that your knowledge of the Indians enables you to know that the Puttawatamies and Miamies are one people, and as our brothers, the chiefs of the Miamies, are present, perhaps they may have something to say to you.†

\* Killed at the Chicago Massacre, August 15, 1812. In the employ of the United States as interpreter, scout, or agent, from July, 1792, to the time of his death, and for many years a resident at Ft. Wayne; and well known to all the Indians visiting that post, to receive their annuities or for other purposes, by many of whom he was held in high esteem and by others as thoroughly hated for his unswerving devotion to the United States.

† Soon after the surrender of Detroit, Fort Wayne was besieged. With plenty of provisions and water, four small field-pieces, and seventy men, the fort was well prepared to resist a siege by the Indians; the latter, therefore, undertook to gain its possession by stratagem. The Five Medals and other chiefs, in their conferences with the garrison under flags of truce, had observed that the commandant, Capt. Rhéa, who was well advanced in years and much addicted to drunkenness, betrayed a spirit of timidity, which justified them in believing they could use him in their purposes if they once had him in their power. Acting on this idea, it was arranged that, under pretence of holding a friendly conference, Five Medals, Win-ne-mac, and three other hostile chiefs were to gain admission into the council-room, within the fort, with their scalping-knives and pistols secreted under their blankets. Then, upon an understood signal being given, they were to assassinate the two subordinate officers, seize Capt. Rhéa, and with threats of instant death if he did not comply, and promises of personal safety if he did, compel him to order the gates of the fort to be thrown open for the admission of their warriors, lying in ambush without. The plan was put in execution, but was balked by a circumstance, seemingly, almost miraculous. Wm. Oliver, a young man of Ft. Wayne, though absent at Cincinnati when the siege began, who, learning on his way home that the Indians had invested the fort, hurried back toward the settlements to give the alarm and secure assistance, after which he again set out for Fort Wayne, in advance of the forces marching to its relief, for the

## SPEECH OF LITTLE TURTLE, A MIAMIE CHIEF.

ADDRESSED TO HIS EXCELLENCY, WILLIAM H. HARRISON, GOVERNOR OF INDIANA TERRITORY.

Friend and Brother, you have listened to our chiefs, the Putawatamies. You see that their sentiments and ours are the same, as respects the welfare of our people. It is true that some of our foolish young men have been deluded by the Shawanoe Prophet, and made to follow a path that is filled with thorns and briers. We pray you to have pity on these foolish people, and forgive them the crimes they have committed.

My friend, I could not say anything more to you than what our great chief, the Five Medals, has said. He has told you to forgive those foolish people that have been led astray by the Prophet. Tell them the impropriety of their conduct, and request them to do better; and we hope they will do better.

purpose of encouraging the garrison to persevere in its defence until their arrival. Luckily, the Indians had been withdrawn from the direction by which Oliver, in company with two friendly Shawnees, were approaching the fort, and were massed upon the opposite side. Win-ne-mac, the Five Medals, and their three confederates, with their flag of truce, were in the act of carrying their plan into execution as Oliver and his Shawnees reached the gate. The attacking and the relieving party, each unknowing of the purposes or near presence of the other, coming by different directions, and screened by the angles of the fort, were not seen by each other until this moment. Win-ne-mac, much chagrined at the unexpected turn of affairs, uttered an ejaculation of disappointment, and with the others returned to their waiting warriors with the word that the attempted surprise of the fort had failed. The account of the above, not generally known, incident connected with the investment of Fort Wayne, is condensed from Dr. Drake's "Tecumthe".

On the 12th of September, 1812, Gov. Harrison, with two thousand Kentuckians and several hundred citizen militia of Ohio, by severe and forced marches, arrived at Fort Wayne; the troops were broken up into several detachments and sent out southwest, west, and northwest on retaliative missions. On the morning of September 16, the detachment commanded by Col. Samuel Wells struck the Five Medal's Town, burned it to the ground—the inhabitants having fled two days before—captured a large quantity of corn, in process of drying upon scaffolds, and an abundance of beans, potatoes, and other provisions, besides which they totally destroyed seventy acres of corn. In the village were several coarse bags, appearing to have contained shot; pieces of gun and ammunition boxes with London and Malden printed upon them, and abundant other evidence that, since his friendly speech of the previous October, the Five Medals, like all the rest of his nation, had gone over to the British.

My friend, these are the sentiments of our hearts; to live in peace with all people, is our first wish; and we have entire confidence that the Treaty of Greenville is fresh in the mind of our Father, the President of the United States. I have nothing more to say at present.

Father, we all now take you by the hand and request the Great Spirit to incline your heart to be kind to your Red brothers.

FORT WAYNE, *25th January, 1812.*

A LETTER FROM THE CELEBRATED MIAMIE CHIEF,  
LITTLE TURTLE.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, WILLIAM H. HARRISON, GOVERNOR OF INDIANA TERRITORY.

My friend: I have been requested by my nation to speak to you, and I obey their request with pleasure, because I believe their situation requires all the aid I can afford them. When your speech by Mr. Dubois was received by the Miamies, they answered it, and I made known to you their opinion at that time. Your letter to William Wells, of the 23d November last, has been explained to the Miami and Eel-River tribes of Indians.

My friend, altho' neither of these tribes have had anything to do with the late unfortunate affair which happened on the Wabash, still they all rejoice to hear you say that if those foolish Indians, which were engaged in that action, would return to their several homes and remain quiet, that they would be pardoned and again received by the President as his children. We believe there are none of them that will be so foolish as not to accept of this friendly offer; while at the same time I assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to prevail on them to accept it.

All the Prophet's followers have left him (with the exception of two camps of his own tribe). Tecumseh\* has just joined him, with eight men only. No danger can be apprehended from them at present. Our eyes will be constantly kept on them, and should they attempt to gather strength again, we will do all in our power

\* In this "Talk"—the last ever made by the Little Turtle—he here refers to the battle of Tippecanoe, fought on the morning of the 7th of the previous November. The original address will be found in Gen. Harrison's Memoirs, of which that in the Ft. Wayne manuscript above is a literal copy, except that the two words, in the closing line, "*hurt our*" are substituted for "*burst on*" in the original; which reads " \* \* \* the storm that threatens to *burst on* our nations." The copy above varies a little in the address and omits the certificate of authentication, which is as follows in the original:

to prevent it, and at the same time give you immediate information of their intentions.

We are sorry that that peace and friendship, which has so long existed between the red and the white people, could not be preserved without the loss of so many good men as fell on both sides in the late action on the Wabash; but we are satisfied that it will be the means of making that peace which ought to exist between us more respected, both by the red and the white people.

We have lately been told, by different Indians from that quarter, that you wished the Indians from this country to visit you; this they will do with pleasure, when you give them information of it in writing.

My friend, the clouds appear to be rising in a different quarter, which threatens to turn our light into darkness. To prevent this, it may require the united efforts of us all.

We hope that none of us will be found to shrink from the storm that threatens to hurt our nations.

Your friend,

MISHECANOCQUAH or LITTLE TURTLE. X

For the Miami and Eel-River tribes of Indians.

“FT. WAYNE, 25 *January*, 1812.

“GOVERNOR HARRISON:—My friend:”

here follows the Talk, ending with Little Turtle's name, as above, all which is verified thus:

“Witness. WM. TURNER, S.-Mate, U. S. Army.

“I certify that the above is a true translation. W. WELLS.”

Mr. Dawson, the compiler of the Memoirs quoted, in introducing this address, says, “The Talk received from the Little Turtle, which so feelingly deplores the consequences of the late action, also appears to allude to the gathering storm that broke out in the June following [when the United States made a formal declaration of war against Great Britain]. This information the Little Turtle must have had from some communication, by himself or others, with British agents. The speech is given as a relic of that extraordinary genius who was fated not long to survive it.”

A more extended sketch of Capt. Wells and the Little Turtle is now well advanced for the press by the author of these notes.

## The Manners and Customs of the North-Western Indians.

[HISTORICAL.]

The French were the first white people that were ever known among the North-Western Indians.

When the British and French commenced a war against each other in North America, the North-Western Indians joined the French, and some of the Six Nations of Indians joined the British.

After the British had gotten possession of this country from the French, a Tawa chief, by the name of Pontioch, renewed the war against the British, and took all the posts that were occupied by the latter, on the Lakes and their waters, in one day, (Detroit excepted) where Pontioch himself was. This wonderful achievement of military skill was performed by stratagem.

After this, in 1774, the first war commenced between the Americans and the North-Western Indians. The principal action that took place between the parties was at the mouth of the Big Canawa.\* The Indian army consisted of about three hundred Shawanoes and Delewares, and a few Miamies, Mingoës, and Wyandotts, all of whom were commanded by the celebrated Shawanoe chief, Cornstalk.

This was the war that ended at the Treaty of Greenville, in 1795, altho' at different times, individual Indians would treat or pretend to do so with the Americans, while at the same time, other Indians would be destroying some of the very people that their chiefs were treating with.

The Indians that opposed General Sullivan,† in 1779, were the combined forces of the Six Nations. Their number, and by whom commanded, I do not know.

The Indians that defeated Colonel Crawford‡ at Sandusky were the Wyandotts, Delewares, Shawanoes, Cherokees, Puttawatamies,

\* Battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774.

† John Sullivan, born in Maine, February 17, 1740; was appointed in the Continental army from New Hampshire; promoted to major-general, August 9, 1776; resigned, November 30, 1779; and died in New Hampshire, January 23, 1795.—GARDNER.

‡ William Crawford, an old pioneer, Washington's business agent in the West, who, under protest, commanded this expedition of nearly five hundred men, organized to destroy the inhabitants and towns of the Moravian Delawares and Wyandotts upon the Sandusky, was taken prisoner by the Indians and afterward, March 11, 1782, tortured to death in a most horrible manner near Sandusky.—*Annals of the West*.

Ottaways, and a few of the Six Nations, said to be eight hundred in all. I never heard who commanded them, as the Indians always keep the number of their killed and wounded as secret as possible. I shall not undertake to say what number were killed and wounded in either of the actions above mentioned.

Bowman's campaign was against the Shawanoes,\* on the Little Miami River. I am not acquainted with any of the particulars of the action that took place between him and the Indians.

My knowledge of the campaign carried on by General Clark†

\* Col. Joseph Bowman's command in July, 1779, destroyed their town, capturing some booty, including 160 horses.—*Annals of the West*, 217.

† Geo. Rogers Clark, born Albemarle Co., Va., Nov. 19, 1752; died near Louisville, Ky., Feb. 13, 1818. Originally a land-surveyor, he commanded a company in Dunmore's army in 1774. In 1775, he went to Kentucky, and took command of the armed settlers. In the spring of 1778, Maj. Clark was intrusted by Gov. Henry of Virginia with the command of an expedition against the British at Kaskaskia, which he surprised and captured. He succeeded, also, in reducing other posts in this region, including that at Vincennes, which were organized into a county, under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and named Illinois. Promoted to colonel by the Virginia authorities, he applied himself successfully to the pacification of the Indian tribes. While thus engaged, he learned that Gov. Hamilton of Detroit had captured Vincennes, and that further blows were to be struck against American posts. Anticipating the enemy, Col. Clark commenced his march against Vincennes, February 7, 1779, with 175 men, traversing a wilderness and the drowned lands of Illinois, suffering every privation from wet, cold, and hunger. The place was besieged on the morning of the 19th, and was surrendered the next day. He intercepted a convoy of goods worth \$10,000, and built Fort Jefferson on the west bank of the Mississippi. In retaliation for the inroads of the British and Indians into Kentucky, in June, 1780, he led a force against the Shawnees on the Great Miami, defeating them with heavy loss, at Pickawa. During Arnold's invasion, Clark took temporary command under Baron Stuben. He afterward succeeded in raising a considerable force for an expedition against Detroit, and was made a brigadier; but the progress of Cornwallis, and the poverty of the country, restricted the frontiersmen to the defensive. In September, 1782, Gen. Clark, at the head of more than 1000 mounted riflemen, assembled at the mouth of the Licking, invaded the Indian towns on the Scioto, burned five of their villages, and laid waste their plantations, producing a salutary effect, and so awing the savages that no formidable Indian war-party ever after invaded Kentucky. In 1786, Clark commanded an expedition of 1000 men against the Indians on the Wabash. It was a failure. His great services to his country were passed over, and he died in poverty and obscurity. "A Sketch of his Campaign in Illinois in 1778-9," by H. Pirtle,

against the Shawanoes, on Mad River and the Big Miamie, is not to be depended on. .

When General Harmar\* arrived at the Miamie Town, he sent Col. John Hardin† with a party of men in search of the Indians.

was published. 8vo., Cincinnati, 1869.—*Drake*. A county in Illinois and other western States, as well as many towns, and one of the principal streets of Chicago are named for him.

\* Josiah Harmar, born in Philadelphia, 1753; died there, August 20, 1813. Educated chiefly at Robert Proud's Quaker School, Philadelphia. Made captain 1st Pennsylvania regiment in October, 1776; was its lieut.-colonel in 1777, and until the close of the Revolution. He was in Washington's army in the campaigns of 1778–80; served under Gen. Greene, in the South, in 1781–2; and was made brevet-colonel 1st U.-S. regiment, September 30, 1783. In 1784, he took to France the ratification of the definitive treaty. As Indian-agent for the Northwest Territory, he was present, January 20, 1785, at the treaty at Fort McIntosh. Lieut.-colonel of infantry under the Confederation, August 12, 1784; brevet-brigadier-general (by resolve of Congress, July 31, 1787,) and general-in-chief of the army (September 29, 1789); commanded an expedition against the Miami Indians, September 30, 1790, and partially defeated, October 22, 1790; resigned January 1, 1792; adjutant-general of Pennsylvania, 1793–9; and active in preparing and furnishing the Pennsylvania troops for Wayne's Indian campaign, 1793–4.—*A. T. Goodman's Memoir*.

† John Hardin, born in Fauquier Co., Va., Oct. 1, 1753, died 1792. He early became an excellent marksman; served with distinction in the Indian wars of Virginia, and as a lieutenant in Morgan's Rifle Corps in the Revolution; settled in Washington Co., Ky., in 1786. He commanded a detachment of Kentucky and Pennsylvania militia under Gen. Harmar at his defeat, Oct. 19 and 22, 1790; commanded Brig.-Gen. Chas. Scott's advance, and distinguished in his successful expedition against the Indians on the Wabash, in May, 1791. Murdered by the Indians while bearing a flag of truce, near Shawneetown, O., for his horse and equipments, which were very fine; was the father of Martin D. Hardin, lawyer, born on the Monongahela River, Pa., June 21, 1780; died Oct. 8, 1823, educated at Transylvania Academy; studied law; several years a member of the Kentucky legislature; secretary of state 1812; a major under Maj.-Gen. Harrison in the N.-W. army in Lt.-Col. John Allen's Rifle Reg't of Aug., 1812; U.-S. senator 1816–7. He published reports of Laws in Kentucky Court of Appeals 1805–8, Frankfort, 8vo., 1810. His son, John J. Hardin, born in Frankfort, Ky., Jan. 6, 1810; educated at Transylvania University; practised law at Jacksonville, Ill.; was prosecuting-attorney; member of the Ill. legislature, 1836–42; representative in Congress from Ill., 1843–5; Col. 1st Reg't 12-month volunteers in Mexican war; June 30, 1846; killed, February 23, 1847, in battle of Buena Vista, while leading his regiment in a

Col. Hardin met three hundred Miamies at the head of Eel River who were commanded by the celebrated Miami chief, Little Turtle. An action ensued, and the whites were defeated.\* The Indians had one man killed and two wounded. The Indians that fought the troops under the command of Col. Harmar in the Miami Town, were the party above mentioned, and commanded by the same chief; also a body of five hundred more, consisting of Shawanoes, Delewares, Puttawatamies, Chippaways, and Ottaways. The Shawanoes were commanded by their own chief, Blue-Jacket; the Delewares by Buckingehelas; and the Ottaways and Chippeways by Agaskawak, an Ottawa chief. The Indians say they had fifteen killed and twenty-five wounded.

General Scott's† campaign was against the Weeas' Town on the

charge at the latest conflict. His son, Gen. Martin D. Hardin, great-grandson of John Hardin, born at Jacksonville, Ill., June 26, 1837; graduate of West Point; brevet 2d lieut. 3d Artillery, July 1, 1859; 2d lieut., January 2, 1860; 1st lieut., May 14, 1861; lieut.-colonel 12th Pennsylvania Reserve Veteran Corps, July 8, 1862; brevet-captain, August 29, 1862, for gallant and meritorious service in battle of Groveton, Va.; brevet-major, August 30, 1862, for gal. and mer. service in battle of Bull Run (2d), Va.; colonel 12th Veteran Reserve Corps, Sept. 1, 1862; brevet lieut.-colonel, Dec. 14, 1863, for gal. and mer. service in an encounter with band of guerillas; brevet-colonel, May 23, 1864, for gal. and mer. service in battle of N. Anna River, Va.; mustered out of Volunteer service, June 11, 1864; brig.-general of Volunteers, July 2, 1864; brevet brig.-general, March 13, 1865, for gal. and mer. service in the field during the war; mustered out of Volunteer service, Jan. 15, 1866; major 43d Infantry, July 28, 1866; transferred to 1st Infantry, March 15, 1869. Retired with rank of brig.-general, Dec. 15, 1870; loss of left arm and wounds in line of duty (under Acts of Congress, August 3, 1861, and July 28, 1866).—*Gardner, Drake, Hamersly.*

\* 1790, Oct. 19 and 22. Battle on the Miami River, Ohio, fought by the U. S. Artillery, Pennsylvania and Kentucky militia, under Brig.-Gen. Josiah Harmar; and who were defeated by bands of Indian warriors. Our troops engaged on the 19th were 30 regulars and 180 militia; and on the 22d 60 regulars and 340 militia. Our loss was 183 killed and 31 wounded.—*Gardner.*

† Charles Scott, soldier and governor of Kentucky, 1808—Sept., 1812, born in Cumberland Co., Va., 1733; died Oct. 22, 1820. A non-com. officer of Virginia militia at Braddock's defeat in 1755; raised and commanded the first company south of the James for the Revolutionary army; was appointed colonel of 3d Virginia Batt., Aug. 12, 1776; was distinguished at Trenton; made a brig.-gen., April 2, 1777; was with Gen. Wayne at the storming of Stony Point in 1779; was made prisoner at Charleston, S.C., in 1780, and

Wabash, where he met with little or no opposition, as the warriors of the Weeas expected that General Scott was going against the Miami Town, and had nearly all left their own village to meet him there. Eight men and two women were killed by the troops under General Scott at the Weeas' Town. The number of women and children that were taken prisoners, I do not recollect.

Gen. Wilkinson's\* campaign was against the Eel-River Town.† He met with no opposition, as there were but ten old men, three young ones, and a few women and children. Four men were killed, and one woman. The number of prisoners taken, I do not recollect.

In 1790, an army of Indians, composed of Miamies, Delewares, Shawanoes, and a few Puttawatamies, three hundred in number, who were commanded by the Little Turtle, attacked Dunlop's Station, on the Big Miami River. This Post was commanded by Lieut. Jacob Kingsbury.‡ The Indians had ten killed and the same number wounded.

was not exchanged until near the close of the war. At Monmouth, where he was the last to leave the field, he was particularly distinguished. In 1785, he settled in Woodford Co., Ky.; as brig.-gen. of Kentucky levies, was with Gen. St. Clair at his defeat in 1791; commanded a successful expedition to the Wabash, and in actions with the Indians in May and June, 1791; maj.-gen. of division of 1600 Kentucky mounted volunteers under Gen. Wayne, July 2, 1793; and distinguished in his victory Aug. 20, 1794, when he commanded a portion of Wayne's army at the battle of Fallen Timbers. Served from May 11 to Oct. 26, 1794. The shiretown of Powhatan Co. was named for him, also a county in Kentucky.—*Drake*.

\* James Wilkinson, born in Maryland, 1757. Adjutant-general in Gates' army at Saratoga, 1777; lieut.-colonel commandant 2d Infantry, Nov. 7, 1791; commanded expedition on the Wabash in 1791 and Feb., 1792; brig.-general, March 5, 1792; commanded right wing of Wayne's army in his victory of Aug. 20, 1794, at the Maumee Rapids, and was distinguished; governor of Louisiana Terr'y, Dec., 1805–7; general-in-chief of the army from Dec., 1796, to July, 1798; and from June, 1805, to Jan., 1812; brevet major-general, July 10, 1812; major-general, March 2, 1813; disbanded June 15, 1815. Died near Mexico, Dec. 28, 1825; buried in the parish of San Miguel.—*Gardner*.

† August 7, 1791.

‡ Jacob Kingsbury, born in Norwich, Conn., 1755, was 42 years in the U.-S. service, having risen from the ranks—which he joined at Roxbury, in 1755—to be an officer in the Revolutionary army. Served in Wayne's Indian Campaigns. Lieut. of Inf'y regiment, Sept. 29, 1789; Capt., Dec., 1791; in 1 sub-legion Dec., 1792; in 1st Inf'y, Nov., 1796; major 2d Inf'y, May 15,

There was an army of Indians composed of Miamies, Puttawatomies, Ottaways, Chippaways, Wyandotts, Delewares, Shawanoes, and a few Mingoes and Cherokees, amounting in all to eleven hundred and thirty-three, that attacked and defeated General St. Clair on the 4th November, 1791.\* Each nation was commanded by their own chiefs, all of whom were governed by the Little Turtle, who made the arrangement for the action and commenced the attack with the Miamies, who were under his immediate command. The Indians had thirty killed and died with their wounds the day of the action, and fifty wounded.

In the autumn of 1792,† an army of three hundred Indians, composed of Miamies, Delewares, Shawanoes, and a few Puttawatomies, who were commanded by the Little Turtle, attacked Col. John Adair,‡ under the walls of Fort St. Clair, where they had two men killed.

1797; Lt.-Col. 1st Inf'y, April 11, 1803; Colonel 1st Inf'y, Aug. 18; 1808; Inspector-Gen. (rank of colonel), April 28, 1813; disbanded June, 1815; died at Franklin, Mo., July 1, 1837. His son, Col. Thomas H. C. Kingsbury, born in New Orleans, Dec. 23, 1807, was Col. of 11th Conn. volunteers, and was killed at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862.—*Gardner, Drake.*

\* 1791, Nov. 4. Battle near the sources of the Maumee of the Lakes, fought by a battalion of the 2d infantry and levies from Kentucky, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, about 1400 effectives under Maj.-Gen. Arthur St. Clair; defeated by some 1500 Indian warriors. Our loss was 632 killed and 264 wounded.—*Gardner.*

† 1792, Nov. 6. Conflict in sight of Fort St. Clair, fought by Kentucky mounted men, about 50, under Maj. John Adair, against Indian warriors. Our loss, 6 killed, 5 wounded; the Indian loss greater.—*Ibid.*

‡ John Adair, born Chester Co., S.C., August 16, 1759; died Harrisburg, Ky., May 19, 1840. Received a public-school education; served in the Revolutionary army; removed to Kentucky in 1787; was a major of Kentucky mounted "levies" under Gen. St. Clair and Gen. Wilkinson in expeditions against the Northwestern Indians in 1791; was attacked by the Miami chief, Little Turtle, in camp near Fort St. Clair, November 6, 1792, and forced to retreat; was lieut.-colonel commandant in Gen. Charles Scott's division in July, 1793. He was a volunteer aide to Gen. Shelby at the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813; made brigadier and adjutant-general to Maj.-Gen. Thomas' division of Kentucky, 6-months' militia, November 10, 1814; and commanded the Kentucky Rifle-Brigade (centre of Gen. Jackson's line, January 8, 1815) with distinction at New Orleans in 1814-5. He was several years a member of the Kentucky Legislature, of which body he was also speaker; was a member of the Kentucky Constitutional Convention in 1799; and Regis-

The 30th June, 1794, an army of fourteen hundred and fifty Indians, composed of Miamies, Puttawatamies, Delewares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippaways, and Wyandotts, with a number of French and other white men in the British employ, attacked Fort Recovery.\* The Indians were commanded by the Bear chief, an Ottaway. The white men attached to the Indian army were commanded by Elliott and McKee, both British officers. The garrison was commanded by Capt. Gibson,† of the 4 sub-legion. The Indians have repeatedly told me that they had between forty and fifty men killed, and upward of a hundred wounded, a number of whom died of their wounds. This was the severest blow I ever knew the Indians to receive from the whites.

The Indians that fought General Wayne,‡ the 20th of August, 1794,§ was an army of eight hundred men, consisting of Miamies, Shawanoes, Puttawatamies, Delewares, Ottaways, Chippaways, and Wyandotts, with a number of white men from Detroit. The Indians were governed by British influence, and consequently made but little resistance. The Indians had twenty-four killed and fifteen wounded.

The Indians that fought the troops under the command of

ter of the U.-S. Land-Office; U.-S. senator in 1805-6; governor of Kentucky, 1820-4; and a Democratic Member of Congress, in place of John Breckinridge, resigned, in 1805, and in 1831-3, serving on the Committee on Military Affairs.—*Gardner, Drake.*

\* 1794, June 30. Defence of Fort Recovery by its garrison of riflemen and voluntary cavalry, under Maj. Wm. McMahon of the 4th sub-legion (who was killed), against a vastly superior force of Miami Indians. Our loss was 22 killed and 30 wounded.—*Gardner.*

† Alexander Gibson, Virginia; captain Infantry, Nov. 21, 1782; in 4 sub-legion, Dec., 1792; distinguished in command of garrison of Fort Recovery, in victorious repulse of Indians, Nov. 30, 1794; in 4th Infantry, Nov., 1796; resigned Nov. 15, 1800.—*Ibid.*

‡ Anthony Wayne, born Jan. 1, 1745, in Chester Co., Pennsylvania. Brig.-general in Revolutionary army, Feb. 21, 1777; representative in Congress from Georgia, 1791-2. Major-general and general-in-chief of the army, March 5, 1792; commanded in the victory over the Indians in the battle of the Maumee Rapids, Aug. 20, 1794. Died, Dec. 15, 1796, on the shore of Lake Erie in Pennsylvania.—*Ibid.*

§ 1794, Aug. 20. Battle of the Maumee Rapids, at the "Fallen Timbers," fought by the army under Maj.-Gen. Anthony Wayne, against 2000 Indians, who were defeated and completely routed. Our loss was 33 killed and 100 wounded.—*Ibid.*

Governor Harrison,\* on the 7th of November, 1811,† were composed of Shawanoes, Puttawatamies, Kickapoos, Wynebagoes, Taways, and a few Muscoes, amounting in all to one hundred and fifty, agreeable to the most correct information that could be procured from the Indians that were in the action. The Indians lost twenty-five men killed in the action. The number of wounded has not been ascertained. This is the last action that was fought between the Indians and the whites.

The Indians and whites lived in peace and friendship from the treaty of Greenville, which was held in 1795, until the first raising of the Shawanoe Prophet, which was in 1807, from that time until the 7th November, 1811, the time that the Prophet's followers fought the troops under the command of Governor Harrison; that treacherous and nefarious scoundrel has been fostered by the British Government, and caused a considerable number of the North-Western Indians to be unfriendly toward the United States, and occasionally committed depredations of murder on our Western frontiers.

There appears to have been no separate cause for each campaign of the Indians against the whites. The war that began in 1774, which was the first that took place between the Indians and the Americans, and which was caused by the repeated ill-treatment the Indians received from the frontier settlements of the whites, was kept up by the Indians, owing to the great influence the British had among them. This influence was kept up by the annual supply of arms and ammunition, which the Indians received from the British Government.

From this it is evident that if the United States had got possession of the Military Posts on the Lakes, which the British Government was to deliver up to them in 1783, there would have been no Indian war after that time.

#### THE EMIGRATION OF THE NORTH-WESTERN INDIANS, AND THEIR GENERAL CONDUCT.

The Miami Nation are the oldest inhabitants of this country.

\* For record of Gen. Harrison, see page 52.

† 1811, Nov. 7. Battle of Tippecanoe River, near its confluence with the Wabash, fought by Battalion of the 4th infantry, 200 strong, Kentucky and Indiana militia, about 450, under Gov. Wm. H. Harrison of Indiana Territory against over 600 Indian warriors under "The Prophet." Our loss was 62 killed, 126 wounded; the Indian loss exceeded 150 killed,—leaving from 36 to 40 dead on the field.—*Gardner*.

From whence they emigrated is not known. The Eel Rivers, Weeas, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskees are all branches of the Miami tribe, and all speak the same tongue.

The Delewares emigrated to this country from the East, and are called by other Indians, Elanabah, or people from the sunrise.

The Shawanoes emigrated to this country from West Florida.

The Wyandotts, Chippaways, Ottaways, Puttawatamies, and Kickapoos emigrated from the North and North West.

The Wynebagoes and Melomenees, who at present inhabit the west side of Lake Michigan, emigrated from the West.

The Socks, Foxes, Johwees, and Nottawessies also emigrated from the North West.

There is a material difference in the language of the different nations of Indians; yet there is but little or no difference in their customs and manners; they are warm friends, but most inveterate enemies. The men are trained up to hunting and going to war, whilst all the laborious work is left for the women to do.

Each nation is divided into villages, and each village has one or more chiefs attached to it, according to its size, who keep their subjects in order by persecution, as arbitrary power is never made use of by them (except in cases of murder). The influence of a chief seldom extends further than his own village.

Both the male and female children are nurtured in such a manner as is best calculated to endure the greatest hardships. They are compelled to bathe their bodies in cold water every day, and fast for a certain length of time. The length of time a child has to fast is regulated by its age. A child that is eight years old will fast half a day, and one that is twelve or sixteen will fast a day. The person that is fasting has its face blacked, and is not permitted to wash it until the time of fasting is out. The face of the male is blacked all over; that of the female on the cheeks only. The male quits this practice at the age of eighteen, it is then said by the parents that his education is complete, and he is then old enough to be a man. His face is then blacked for the last time, and he is taken a mile or two from any house, where he has a small hut built for him out of bushes or weeds. After this, he is addressed by his father or guardian in the following words:

My son, it has pleased all the Great Spirits that live above the clouds, and all those that live on the earth, that you should live to see this day; they have all witnessed your conduct ever since I first blacked your face; they know whether you have at all times strictly adhered to the advice I have given you; and I hope they will reward you accordingly. You must now remain here, until myself or some of your friends come to you.

The man then returns home, takes his gun and goes a hunting, while his son is left five or six days, and sometimes eight days, without anything to eat or drink. When the father or guardian has procured meat enough for a feast, he invites some of his neighbors to come and partake of what he has. They accompany him to where his son has been staying for several days; the boy is then taken home, where he is immersed in cold water, his head shaved all over except a small spot on the top; victuals are then given him, which have been prepared in a separate vessel for that purpose. After he is done eating, a looking-glass is given him, and a bag of vermilion or paint; he is then told by the company that he is a man. After this, he is considered as such by the people of the village. They frequently go to war before being declared men in this manner, and they are respected according to their merit.

Immediately after a boy's face is blacked, which generally takes place at daybreak, he takes his bow and arrows and goes to the wood, from whence he does not return until the usual time of washing his face and eating comes on. I have accompanied boys for several years at different times, when their faces were blacked, and I never knew a single instance of their eating or drinking while in this situation, or without the knowledge of their parents.

Their minds are operated on by fears, as they are made to believe that if they eat or drink while their face is black, such an offence would be followed by immediate punishment from the Great Spirit, who watched strictly over all their actions.

When an Indian girl arrives at the age of puberty, and her monthly discharges or catamenia comes on, she is separated from the family, and a small hut is built for her, some distance from the house where her parents reside. She is put in the hut prepared for that purpose, where she remains until the menstrual discharge ceases; during which time no person is allowed to visit or keep company with her. Victuals are cooked in a separate kettle at a fire built out of doors for that purpose. All her cooking utensils and clothing are considered unclean until they are washed and purified for the purpose of using herself and being made use of by others. When this disease leaves her, she is directed to bathe herself in cold water; after which, a sweat-house is built, and she is taken into it by her mother, or some other female friend, and is scarified on her legs and arms with a piece of sharp flint; after this, she is sweated and purified for an hour or two, and then admitted into the family.

This practise prevails among all ages of the women, when their systems are in the condition above mentioned. It is in this man-

ner that the systems of the Indians are prepared to bear hunger and all inclemencies of the different seasons.

If a woman is pregnant when traveling, and her time of parturition should come on, she will stop at the first convenient stream of water, where she will be delivered of her child. She will then wash the child all over in the cold water, and wrap it up in her blanket or any old clothing she may have along; she will then wash herself, and in two hours be ready to proceed on her journey.

Polygamy is universally admitted among the Indians. A man may have as many wives as he pleases, and can change them as often as it may suit his own views. Young men are instructed by their parents to get as many wives as they can, but never to have connexion with a married woman, and by no means to involve himself or his friends in a quarrel with their neighbors.

Marriages are performed in three different ways. 1st. If the male and female agree, they may cohabit with each other without any further ceremony. 2d. When a young man loves a girl, and she will not consent to have him without he first obtains the consent of her parents, which must be done with a present adequate to the character of the girl. If his present is received by the girl's friends, the marriage is fixed; if the present is returned, it is understood that they are not willing for the match. 3d. This is considered by much the most honorable and binding on the parties concerned. When an Indian has a son that he wishes to be married to a good and a virtuous woman, he assembles his friends and relations, and consults with them what woman his son shall marry. When a choice is made, the relations of the young man collect what presents they think are sufficient for the occasion, and take them to the parents of the girl or intended bride; they make known their business, leave the articles, and return home without an answer. The relations of the girl then assemble together, and consult each other on the subject. If they agree to the match, they collect suitable presents, dress the girl in her best clothing, and take her to the persons that made application for the match, where she and the presents are left. The marriage is then considered complete, as all the ceremony for the occasion has been regularly gone through. But if the friends of the girl or herself do not approve of the proposals, the presents that were given by the young man's relations are returned, which is considered a refusal.

#### MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

When a warrior wishes to go to war, he informs one or two of his most intimate friends of his intentions and asks them to join

him. The war party is then formed by their inviting as many men as they wish the party to consist of. Their intentions are kept secret from all the rest, as the person that is to command the party wishes such men only as will at all times obey his orders. After the party is completely organized, they leave the village secretly in the night. When they encamp, the captain or commander places the oldest men in front of the camp, and the youngest in the rear; the former do all the hunting for the party and keeps out a strict watch for the enemy; the latter do all the cooking, making of fires, mending moccasins, etc. Each party has a small budget, which they call the war budget, which contains something belonging to each person in the party, that represents some wild animal, (that is to say,) a snake's skin, a buffalo's tail, a wolf's head, a mink's skin, or the feathers of some extraordinary bird. This budget is considered sacred, and is always carried by some person chosen for that purpose, who always marches in front and leads the party to the enemy. He is never passed on the march by any of the company while he has the budget on his back. When the party halts, the budget is laid on the ground in front of them, and no person is permitted to pass it without orders from the property authority. No person is allowed to sit or lay his pack on a log, neither is any one allowed to talk of women while they are going toward the enemy. When a four-legged animal is killed by the party, the heart is carefully preserved by a person appointed for that purpose. When they encamp, a fire is built alongside of the war budget, and the heart cut in small pieces and burned in it. The sticks or spits upon which they roast their meat is split half down the middle, and then the meat is placed in the split; the stick is to be sharpened at but one end, which is to be stuck in the ground. No person is allowed to step across the fire, or walk round it in any other way than that in which the sun traverses.

It will readily be imagined that the order observed among the Indians when going to war is completely calculated to prevent accident or surprises, and keep up good discipline. When the enemy is to be attacked, the war budget is opened, and each man takes out his skin, or corpenyomer, or war bag, and ties it on that part of his body which he was directed to do by his ancestors in such like cases.

When an Indian attacks his enemy, he is generally stripped naked (except what is called his breech-cloth and moccasins). His body is painted in different colors, though generally red. After the action is over, each person returns his war bag to the commander of the party, who takes the same skin or cloth that

they were formerly wrapped in, and carefully wraps them up again, and gives the budget to the man that took the first prisoner or scalp, who leads the party home in triumph. This is considered as a record of his bravery in the nation, and consequently great honor is attached to it. Should there be more than one of the enemy killed or taken prisoner, the person that gets the first scalp or takes the first prisoner is entitled to the first honor.

When the party returns home, the war budget is hung in front of the door of the person that carried it on the march against the enemy. It is suffered to remain there thirty or forty days, and some one of the party goes every night and sings and dances where it hangs; particularly those that have taken a prisoner or scalp.

When the person that commanded the party thinks proper, he assembles the party, and a feast is prepared by them for all the people of the village. They sing and dance all night. Those of the party that did the enemy most damage serves out the feast to the assembly. After this is over, the war budget is opened by the commander, and each person of the party takes out his corpenyomer or war bag, and the party is dissolved.

#### THEIR RELIGION AND MODE OF WORSHIP.

Every Indian family has one or more of the skins or images above mentioned, which is called in the Miami language Corpenohor Corpenyomer. It is those instruments that they consider sacred, and accordingly worship them. They say when the Great Spirit formed them, that he placed those things in their possession and told them if they would worship them that they would live to an immense age, and always remain happy; consequently, some one member of each respective family pays reverence to those divine images monthly. After singing all night such songs as he has been instructed to do on such occasions by his ancestors, which may be called religious songs; he then prepares a kettle of victuals and a few pipes of tobacco, and invites his neighbors to come and partake of what he has prepared for the occasion. When the company has collected, he tells them the cause of his calling them together. The company then proceeds to eating, with a great deal of ceremony too tedious to mention. Each person will throw a small piece of the victuals in the fire before he puts any in his mouth.

There are but few Indians that will give an opinion respecting a future state. They say that those things are only enquired after by fools and the white people. Some of them have told me that

they believed there were two other worlds. One was intended as the place of residence for the spirits of the good people on this earth; and the other for the spirits of those that were bad, and that the bad ones were always assisting the evil spirit to do ill, while the good ones resided with the good spirit, and remained in peace and quietness.

I once asked a very distinguished chief what he supposed was necessary to constitute a good and a great man. He replied, that a good father, a good husband, a good neighbor, a good warrior, and a lover of his nation, was all in his opinion that was necessary for a man to possess, to fulfil the expectations of the Great Spirit, who placed us on this earth; though, the Indians generally appear to care but little about a future state. They are only anxious to live to an old age in this world.

#### CEREMONIES AMONG THE INDIANS WHEN ONE OF THEM DIE.

When an Indian dies, his relations black their faces and fast for a certain time, which time is regulated by the head of the family: When it is known that an Indian has died, the neighbors assemble and bury the dead, after which the heads of such families that are friendly disposed toward the deceased person and their surviving friends, take some article of clothing, and address the friends of the deceased in the following words:

Friends: We are sorry that it has pleased the Great Spirit to call one of your family from you, though this is not uncommon among us people of this world. Our friend has only gone on the journey, a few days before us, which we shall all have to travel; we have therefore come to invite you to mourn no longer, and to cover the body of our departed friend.

After this, they all return home. The articles of clothing are left and preserved for the person that may be adopted in place of the deceased.

#### THEIR MODE OF ADOPTING A LIVING PERSON IN PLACE OF ONE THAT HAS DIED.

When an Indian loses one of his relations, he believes that if his place is not filled by adoption, that more of his friends will die.

If the deceased is a male, one of his most intimate male friends is chosen to fill the vacancy. If a female, one of her most intimate female friends is also chosen to fill the vacancy. If the deceased is a person of respectability, it frequently happens that

two persons are chosen to fill the vacancy. After everything is prepared, the person, or persons, to be adopted is sent for, when the ceremony begins. If the deceased was a warrior, the adoption is exhibited by the warriors of the village, who assemble at the house of the deceased.

They commence by dancing the war-dance and singing the war-song in rotation. The warriors go through all the different manœuvres that is customary when engaged with an enemy; after which, each one reports to the assembly the number of actions he has been in, and the number of scalps and prisoners he has taken.

During the time the warriors are dancing, they occasionally give the same yells and repeat the same words they did when they were in battle. All the while there is a constant yelling kept up by the assembly. When a warrior has gone through such of his exploits as he thinks proper, he hands the war-club to some other warrior, and sits down. The other rises up and repeats as many of his war exploits as he thinks proper. In this way the dance is continued until each warrior of the village is called on to relate his war exploits. Some are called on two or three times during the dance. The assembly is then dismissed by the speaker of the friend of the deceased, telling them that the hearts of the relations of the dead are glad.

The person or persons adopted sits among the relations of the deceased during the dance. After the dance is over, they are invited by their new relations to a private place, where they receive everything that belonged to the deceased, also the articles that were given by neighbors by way of a donation in adoption. They are then told that they are one of the family, and must consider themselves as such, and that they are entitled to the same authority and respect in the nation that the person was when living, whose place they fill.

When a common man or woman or child dies, the adoption is exhibited by a few persons of both sexes, by playing at some favorite game of the deceased. If it was a man that died, by shooting at a mark, running a foot-race, or some other game. If a woman, by playing some game she was fondest of.

#### THEIR CUSTOM WHEN VISITING THE GRAVE OR GRAVES OF THEIR DECEASED RELATIONS.

When an Indian goes to the grave of his deceased friend or relation, he addresses himself to the grave, as though the corpse in it was living. He relates every misfortune that has happened in the family since the death of the person whom he supposes, he

is speaking to; after which he leaves a piece of tobacco, some victuals, or spirituous liquor, if he has any, and departs.

The Indians are an indolent race of beings, consequently they are fond of any kind of amusement that will serve to pass away their time and make them merry. They are very fond of gambling and dancing. They have a variety of games to play at, too tedious to mention, though the game at Moccasin is most generally practised among them. They are remarkably honorable in their gambling debts, and will strip the shirt off their backs to pay a debt incurred by gambling. They also have a variety of dances. The morning dance commences in the evening and continues until the following morning, at which time there is a feast prepared for the company. The outward dance is performed by a certain sect of Indians, which is supposed to possess supernatural powers, so that they can destroy their neighbor's property or life at any time they please, without being discovered by the person to whom the injury is done or any one else. All persons that enter this society are admitted with the strictest ceremony.

It is common for each person who dances to have an otter skin. The eldest members of the society place themselves in the middle of the floor, and the dance is then opened by their singing the songs of the society. A circle is instantly formed around those that are singing, and each person has an otter skin in his hand when he commences dancing. After a few minutes has elapsed, some one of the company makes a noise like an otter, shakes his skin, and walks or dances around on the inside of the circle. He then, with a sudden motion, points his skin at some one of the company, who screams out, and falls down as though he had been shot with a ball; in a few minutes he recovers, and handles his skin in turn, pretending to laugh up the ball he was shot with, when it appears that the bullet is in his mouth; he then puts the nose of the otter skin to his mouth, when it is supposed that his peace is loaded; he then goes around the circle as before, and shoots at who he pleases. In this way, the dance is continued until the managers of the society think proper to break it up. No member can quit the dance until the whole company is dismissed.

The members of this society were formerly treated with great respect by their neighbors; but on the contrary, they are at present treated with as much disrespect as they formerly were respected.

The begging dance is generally performed by the young men and boys, who dress like warriors and go about through the villages singing war songs. It is customary for the head of every family, whose house they dance at, to give them something. This

is the dance that is generally performed when they visit a white person. There are a number of \* \* \* \* \* the whites do, though they are not so tenacious of it as the whites. They are much more hospitable to their friends, neighbors, and visitors than the whites.

The Indians have little or no laws, no coercive power, nor any kind of government. Their most important combats are the internal sensation of right and wrong. When an Indian commits a crime which is not punishable by death, he is treated with contempt and excluded from society.

The Indians believe that thunder, lightning, and all other natural disturbances of this world, are distinct and independent powers or beings, and consequently worship them accordingly.

The Pow-wowers or Priests were formerly in high estimation amongst the Indians, as it was believed that they were the agents of the different great powers or spirits that govern the universe, and that they had power to kill or save, as they pleased.

Those supposed inspired beings generally act as doctors, and it is not uncommon for them to extract a hair ball on the whisker of a bear, a wolf, or a panther, from the body or joint of their patients (or at least make them believe so). They go through the village early in the morning, preaching and telling the people what appears most advisable for them to employ themselves at during the day. Those Pow-wowers, Priests, or Doctors are not so much respected at present as they were formerly.

The present mode of burying the dead among the Indians appears to have existed through all ages, tribes, and conditions. Some lay the dead body on the top of the earth and make a crib or pen over them with logs, and cover it with bark; others dig graves as white people do, they then lay the corpse in the grave, cover it with bark, and then all over with earth; others again will make a coffin out of strong boards, in which they will place the corpse, and hang it up in the top of a tree. It is customary for them to bury as much of the deceased's property with the dead body as can conveniently be placed in the grave or coffin with them. They frequently put a piece of bread or meat and a carrot of tobacco under the head of the person to be interred, as they believe they will be in need of some refreshment on their journey. They generally celebrate the death of a distinguished chief or warrior by drinking, feasting, dancing, and singing.

The Indians are subject to all the different diseases that the whites are (the gout not excepted).

## THE MOUND BUILDERS.

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Ferdinand de Soto and his army were the first to discover the mounds. Mention is frequently made of them by the historians of the expedition. This mention is incidental, and so connected with the account of the people and the various incidents of the expedition as to escape notice, yet the descriptions correspond closely with the works as they were found. Some of the villages were surrounded by stockades, and were so situated as to be used for defenses or for fortifications, but a large number of them are also described as having elevated mounds which were used by the caciques for their residences and as observatories from which they could overlook the villages. It is not unlikely that some of the more prominent of these mounds may be identified. There are many of such mounds described in the narratives. One such is mentioned in Georgia, one in Alabama, and one in Mississippi. One mound is described around which there was a terrace wide enough to accommodate twelve horsemen. On another mound the platform was large enough to accommodate twelve or thirteen large houses, which were used for the residence of the family and the tenants of the cacique. This was not far from New Madrid, in Arkansas. It was upon the terrace of one of these mounds that De Soto stood when he uttered his reproaches against his followers, having found out the dissatisfaction and revolt which had arisen among them. This was after he had passed the Mississippi River, and about the time when he became discouraged in his fruitless expedition. The narrative shows that these prominent earthworks were associated universally with village life. Sometimes the dwelling of the cacique would be on the high mound which served as a fortress, the only ascent to it being by ladders. At other times, mention is made of the fact that from the summit of these mounds extensive prospects could be had, and many native villages could be brought to view. The villages are described as seated "in a plain, between two streams; as nearly encircled by a deep moat, fifty paces in breadth, and where the moat did not extend was defended by a strong wall of timber," "near a wide and rapid river, the largest they discovered in Florida"—this was the Mississippi. "On a high artificial mound on one side of the village stood the dwelling of the cacique, which served as a fortress." Thus throughout this whole region, from the seaboard at Tampa Bay, in the States of Florida, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, these ancient villages appeared, occupied by the various tribes, such as Creeks, Catawbas, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Quapaws, Kansas, and possibly Shawnees. They were situated on all the larger streams in the more favorable localities, and the sites of many of them can be identified at the present time.—*American Antiquarian*.

FERGUS' HISTORICAL SERIES, No. 27.

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THE  
ILLINOIS AND INDIANA INDIANS

BY

HIRAM W. BECKWITH.

CHICAGO:  
FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY,  
ILLINOIS STREET.

1884.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1884, by  
FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY,  
In the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

## LETTER FROM THE AUTHOR.

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DANVILLE, ILL., Nov. 5, 1883.

MY DEAR FERGUS:—Herewith is the wind-up. The Introductory to the chapter on "Illinois and Indiana Indians", also a foot-note on Judge Hall, to be put as marked. I could find no other place where I could place it with any propriety. It cost me more time and labor to chip it out than any other side-spur I have undertaken. I have one of the very few complete sets of his publications extant, which I have been years in collecting, and they contain "lots of good things." I revised and condensed the note two or three times and have, for brevity's sake, squeezed everything out of it except dry facts. Yet I hope that even these may revive or keep in memory the debt Illinois and the West owe to Judge Hall. The statute of limitations has ran too long against him, John M. Peck, and a few others who might be named; while semi-annual dividends of praise have been regularly, often in advance, to much less deserving men.

The proof-slips I return O. K.'d with corrections of my own and the adoption, with thanks, of those queried by the proof-reader, whom I take to be your father. I will be obliged if you will lay away the proof-slips and page-proofs for me to have when I come up, which will be about the 21st instant, when I expect to remain two or three days.

I hope the work will now soon be out, and that you will get back more than your money and labor on the venture. I feel that the matter is as reliable as to facts, dates, names, places, etc., as painstaking research can well make it. Every statement has been compared and verified with all *original* authorities, as well as the several *collators* upon the same subject that I could command for reference. Nothing has been retained that would not bear these tests; and, as a sequence, many pleasing fictions have been discarded. Should you ever subsoil in this field of inquiry, you will be amazed at the carelessness and the discrepancies, the prejudices, and the pure fancies of writers upon our aboriginal history that you will unearth on every hand, until, in the course of your investigations, you will come to doubt if much true history is to be found for your pains at last.

Yours truly,

H. W. BECKWITH.



## INTRODUCTORY.

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THE account given of the Indians, in the following chapters, is condensed from a volume prepared by the writer four years ago, with some new matter added in the revision. It is mostly the result of his gleanings over a wide field of antiquated books of travel and maps long since out of print, or copies of manuscript-correspondence of a private or official character, little of which is accessible to the general reader.

Our knowledge of the aboriginal occupants of this country is fragmentary, at best. They kept no records and had no historians. The little we know of them is to be found in the writings of persons who, if not their natural enemies, had little interest in doing them justice. As a rule, early travelers and observers have alluded to their capabilities, their manners and customs, only in an incidental way. We know but very little of the Indians who formerly occupied the territory between the Alleghanies and Mississippi; and the little information that has been preserved concerning them is so scattered through the volumes of authors who wrote from other motives, or at different dates, or of different nations, without taking thought to discriminate, that no satisfactory account of any particular tribe is now attainable. The best that may be done is to select such of these disjointed scraps as bear evidence of being the most reliable, and arrange them in something like chronological order. In his endeavor to do this, the writer has had no theories to bolster up or morbid sentiments to gratify. He has only quoted or condensed from authorities regarded as standard; and this without prejudice in favor of or against the people whose history he has attempted to briefly give.

The mental and physical training of the two races, their habits and purposes of life were so radically different that they could not peaceably occupy the same territory in common. Either the red hunter must quit the chase and give up his nomadic life, or the civilized white must degenerate into a savage. Hence the Indian, being the weaker party, gave away before the operations of an inexorable law, the severity of which could, at best, have been only tempered. It was but obeying a natural law, inherent in humanity everywhere, that he defended his country against the encroachments of another race; and the strife between the two

for its possession, furnishes material for many thrilling events connected with its history.

In spite of whatever official injunctions to the contrary, the Indians were as systematically debauched with whisky, contaminated with vices, and as persistently overreached by the servants of Count Frontenac, governor of New France, over two centuries ago, as they have been, from that time until now, by the agents and traders of every successive executive in charge, whether French or British, dictating at Quebec or New York, or American, directing from Washington City. And the complaints of the early Jesuit priests against these wrongs were as unavailing in correcting them as the protests of President Jefferson, Gov. Harrison, Gen. Cass, Judge Hall,\* and other good-minded men

\* The writer feels it a duty to recur to the obligation the West, and particularly Illinois, owes to the memory of the late Judge James Hall, the pioneer of our early literature, who was born at Philadelphia, Penn., Aug. 19, 1793; served in the war of 1812, on the Niagara frontier; was with Com. Stephen Decatur in the expedition against Algiers in 1815; resuming his law studies at Pittsburg in 1818; and in 1820, located at Shawneetown, Ill., and began to practise. The next year, he was made States attorney for the judicial circuit, embracing some ten counties in Southeastern Illinois. This section was at that time overrun with horse-thieves, slave-stealers, counterfeiters, and desperadoes, many of whom had fled hither from other States to escape punishment for their crimes. By their numbers and organized bold actions, they set all law at defiance, and terrorized over honest citizens. Mr. Hall, aided by the law-abiding, prosecuted these criminals with such unrelenting vigor that he broke up their gangs, and restored security to life and property. In 1825, he was elected judge of the same circuit—hence the prefix to his name. The honor was all the more creditable to his abilities and moral worth, when it is remembered that the legislature (of 1824–5) conferring it, was largely “anti-convention”, while he was classed with the “convention-party”, as those were designated who had favored the call of a convention to so amend the constitution as to convert Illinois into a slave-state. [*Vide* “Ford’s History of Illinois.”] His term was short; for the next legislative session of 1826–7, repealed the law creating the office and turned out all of the judges holding commissions under it. Within the next two or three years, he removed to Vandalia, then the State capital, where he early associated with Robt. Blackwell, State-printer, in publishing *The Illinois Intelligencer*. The legislature of 1830–1 elected him State treasurer. In the meantime, he and Mr. Blackwell arranged to bring out “The Illinois Monthly Magazine”, it being the first attempt at periodical literature in the State.

Judge Hall’s reputation as a writer was already established. Beginning in 1820, many of his contributions, descriptive of the West and its people,

in later times. The chronic "Indian Question" is no nearer a settlement now than it was in colonial days, and it never will be until either the unfortunate subjects of it are all dead, or we shall have abandoned the prolonged attempt to reconcile the indulgences of a remorseless greed with the ways of justice and humanity.

The remnants of tribes, who formerly owned the country east of the Missouri, were sent beyond that river to live, mostly, by hunting in competition with other natives in regions where game had already become scarce. The lapse of time has neutralized

appeared in "The Portfolio", a monthly, conducted by his brother, John E. Hall, at Philadelphia, from which they were copied by papers in America and England, and received a wide circulation. A residence, afterward, of several years in the country described, so enlarged his opportunities that, to a number of the original articles was added much new matter, and the whole was published in 1828 in London, England, in a volume entitled "Letters from the West. Containing Sketches of Scenery, Manners, Customs, and Anecdotes connected with the First Settlements of the Western Sections of the United States", etc.

The first number of the "Illinois Magazine" appeared for October, 1830. It run for two years. The second volume was published in part at St. Louis and part at Cincinnati; owing to the difficulty of getting material and labor at Vandalia, which, at that time, stood on the verge of a primitive population, isolated from the literary world, and not possessing even the conveniences of country-roads that were passable for more than a few months during the year. Commencing with January, 1833, Judge Hall resumed his periodical at Cincinnati under the name of "The Western Monthly Magazine; a Continuation of the Illinois Monthly Magazine", remaining with it here for three years. In 1833, he went to Cincinnati and resided there until his death, July 5, 1868. His other principal literary labors are as follows: "Legends of the West", 1832; second edition the next year; "The Soldier's Bride", 1833; "The Harp's Head, a Legend of Kentucky", 1833; "Tales of the Border", 1835; "Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the West", 1835; "Statistics of the West", etc., 1836. This last was reissued in 1838 (from the same plates, with a few pages of *addenda* relating to steamboat navigation), under the better title of "Notes on the Western States. Containing Descriptive Sketches of their Soil, Climate, Resources, and Scenery"; substantially the same matter appeared in 1848, under the name of "The West; its Commerce and Navigation"; "Romance of Western History", 1857; republished in 1871, by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, O., with fine portrait of author; "The Wilderness and the War-Path", 1845; republished in London in 1846. The last two run into previous volumes, embracing much of the same matter; while the whole are largely made up of papers drawn from

the bitterness of the conquest that ended with their final removal from our midst; so that now we ought to accord them the even-handed justice to which they are historically entitled.

When attainable, the writer has preserved the aboriginal names of lakes, rivers, Indian villages, and other historical localities coming within range of the subjects treated. In the choice of material he has also endeavored to make such selections as will best serve the double purpose of sketches of the several tribes named, and illustrate characteristics common to them all.

H. W. BECKWITH.

DANVILLE, ILL., November, 1883.

"The Letters from the West", "The Illinois Monthly Magazine", and its continuation, where many of the originals may be found, or the germs can be traced from which elaborations were subsequently made. The whole, aside from their acknowledged literary merits, possess great historical value, as they present while they preserve a faithful picture of the early West.

Besides the above, in 1836, he published a life of Gov. Wm. H. Harrison, which, for perspicuity, fidelity, and elegance of diction, is the best of the many that have appeared. In 1848, he prepared a "Memoir of Thos. Posey, Major-General and Governor of Indiana", published in "Sparks' American Biographical Series". He also wrote the "History of the Indian Tribes of North America", aided by Col. Thomas L. McKenney of the Indian Department; published 1838-44 and 1858, in three large volumes, with 120 Indian portraits, taken mainly from the Indian Gallery, formerly in the Department of War at Washington. Judge Hall early became identified with our State, and aided its material and intellectual progress with all the warmth of his ardent nature. His pen was busy in praise of its climate, its soil, and its capabilities; and prompt and trenchant in defence of the sterling traits of its pioneer people, by whose successors he ought to be remembered. The writer has collated this note, mainly from the above volumes, in his library with such other scraps of information as he could gather elsewhere. The biographical sketch in the American Cyclopaedia, to which the writer is likewise indebted, is in error as to the date of publication of the "Letters from the West", as well, also, in alleging the existence of a "uniform edition of Judge Hall's works"; and is defective in that it omits his "Sketches of the West" (the two volumes possessing more historical value than any of the others), and makes no mention of "The Illinois Monthly Magazine" and its continuation, which, with the "Letters from the West", are measurably the fountains of them all.

His writings, except, perhaps, "The Romance of Western History", and a reprint of "The Legends of the West", by Robert Clarke & Co. of Cincinnati, in 1871 and 1874, respectively, are long since out of print. Many of them are quite rare, and appear only at long intervals in the catalogues of dealers in "Americana".

SOME ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
INDIAN TRIBES  
FORMERLY INHABITING  
INDIANA AND ILLINOIS.

By HIRAM W. BECKWITH, DANVILLE, ILL.



# THE ILLINOIS AND INDIANA INDIANS.\*

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## THE ILLINOIS.

THE several Indian tribes, which from time to time occupied parts of Illinois, so far as we have written accounts of them, were the Miamis, Illinois, Winnebagos, Sacs and Foxes, Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, and, at short intervals, the Winnebagoes and Shawnees. They, with the exception of the Winnebagoes, who were of the Dakota or Sioux stock, were classed among the Algonquin-Lenape nations on account of the similarity of their dialects and to distinguish them from the Iroquois tribes on the east, the Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and others south of the Ohio River, and the Dakotas west of the Mississippi. The different tribes living in Illinois will be referred to in the order of priority of time in which written accounts refer to their respective names.

The Illinois Indians were composed of five subdivisions: Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Tamaroas, Peorias, and Metchigamis, the last being a foreign tribe residing west of the Mississippi River, who being reduced to small numbers by wars with their neighbors, abandoned their former hunting-grounds and became incorporated with the Illinois. The first historical mention of this tribe is found in the "Jesuit Relations for the year 1670-1," prepared by Father Claude Dablon, from the letters of priests stationed at LaPointe on the southwest of Lake Superior.† At this place,

\* A more detailed account of these tribes, together with a narration of their manners, customs, and implements (illustrated) will be found in Beckwith's "Historic Notes on the Northwest."

† "*The point*" of land extending out into Lake Superior and beyond which are the Apostle Islands, so named by the early Jesuits, because there are or were twelve of them in number. The construction of the mission chapel of the "Holy Ghost" was begun at the Pointe by Father Claudius Allouez in 1665; and the place was afterward known by the Jesuits as "Lapoint du Saint

prior to 1670, the French had a trading-post, to which the Indians came for many miles, to barter their peltries for knives, hatchets, kettles, guns, ammunition, clothes, paints, trinkets, and other articles of European manufacture; and as the Indians that first came to LaPointe from the south called themselves Illinois, the French called them ever afterward by this name. Father Dablon states in the "Relations for the year 1670": "As we have given the name of Ottawas to all the savages of these countries, although of different nations, because the first who have appeared among the French were Ottawas, so also it is with the name Illinois, very numerous, and dwelling toward the south, because the first who came to the Pointe of the Holy Ghost for commerce, called themselves Illinois." In the Jesuit Relations and in the writings of other French authors, the name Illinois is variously spelled as "Illi-mouek", "Ill-i-no-u-es", "Ill-i-ne-wek", "Allini-wek", and "Lin-i-wek". The terminations *oues*, *wek*, *ois*, and *ouek* were almost identical in pronunciation. Lewis Evans, the great geographer in colonial days, spelled the name Will-i-nis. Major Thomas Forsyth, for many years trader and Indian-agent in the Illinois Territory, and stationed at the then French village of Peoria, says the "Illinois confederation call themselves Linni-wek, and by others they were called Min-ne-way." Father James Marquette, who, with Louis Joliet, came up the Illinois River in 1673, and Father Louis Hennepin, who descended the same stream in 1679, and both coming in direct contact with the natives dwelling upon the borders of its waters, giving them opportunities of knowing whereof they wrote, in their journals of their respective voyages spell the name Illinois.\* Father Marquette, as well as Father Hennepin, give in their journals the signification that the Illinois Indians gave to their name. The former in his narrative journal observes: "To say Illinois is, in their language, to say 'the men', as if other Indians compared to them were mere beasts." "The word Illinois," says Father Hennepin, "signifies a man of full age in the vigor of his strength. This word Illinois comes, as has already been observed, from Illini, which in that language signifies a

Esprit" [the point of the Holy Ghost]. By the Algonquin tribes and the ungodly fur-traders, who seriously interfered with the good father's mission work, the locality was called "Che-goi-me-gon", or [the place of] "*The Sandy Point*", which, as is usual with aboriginal names, is highly descriptive, and characterizes its physical features in contrast with prevailing rugged shores of Lake Superior. Upon this tongue of land, in modern atlases, is shown the City of Bayfield, county-seat of Bayfield County, Wisconsin.

\* Pronounced Ill-i-noi, the terminal s being silent.

perfect and accomplished man." Originally the word Illinewek, or Linnewek, had only a general meaning, and was a word used boastingly by other tribes of the great Algonquin family when speaking of themselves. The Delawares, considered the oldest branch of this family, called themselves "‘Lenno-Lenape’, which," says Albert Gallatin, in his synopsis of Indians tribes of North America, "means original or ‘unmixed men’; perhaps, originally, ‘manly men’." In the Delaware language *Lenno* means a man and *Nape* means a male. Again, the tribes that occupied the country about the southern extremity of Hudson Bay, and who belonged to this same family of aboriginals, says Dr. Robertson: "call themselves, as many other Indian tribes do, ‘men’, ‘*E-ith-in-yook*’, or ‘In-ir-i-wrik’, prefixing occasionally the name of their especial tribes. Thus the true name of the ‘Mon-so-nies’ or Swamp Indians who inhabited Moose River is ‘Mon-so-a-Eith-yu-yook’, or ‘Moose-deer-men’." Later, and, as it were, by the uniform concurrence of nearly all writers, when referring to the original occupants of this country, the name Ill-i-mouek, Ill-i-ne-wek, Len-i-wek, and Ill-i-ni was applied only to the Illinois Confederation.

From the earliest accounts we have, the principal stream of this State was called "The River of the Illinois"; and a wide region of country, lying north of the mouth of the Ohio and upon both sides of the Mississippi, was called "The Country of the Illinois", and "The Illinois". These designations appear in the records and official letters under the administrations and ownership of this region under both the French and Spanish Governments. For example, letters, deeds, and other official documents bore date at "Kaskaskia of the Illinois", "St. Louis of the Illinois", "Chicago of the Illinois", "Vincennes of the Illinois", etc.

While the Revolutionary war was in progress, Gen. Geo. Rogers Clark of Virginia (though a resident of Kentucky, which was then a county of that colony) wrested the territory, now embraced within the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, from the British Government. Afterward and in the spring of 1779, Col. John Todd, commissioned by Virginia as its lieutenant, went to Vincennes and Kaskaskia and organized Gen. Clark's conquest into a county of Virginia, to which was given the name of "Illinois County". Later this domain became the property, by cession of the several states claiming interest, of the United States. On the 4th of July, 1801, the Act of Congress for the division of the Northwest Territory went into effect, by the terms of which all that part lying to the westward of the west boundary line of the State of Ohio was constituted a separate territory, under name of "Indiana Territory", and so remained

until when by Act of Congress, February 3, 1809, all that part of it lying west of the Wabash River, and a line drawn due north from Vincennes to the British possessions, was organized into a separate territory, to be called the "Illinois Territory". Still later, October 5, 1818, was passed an Act for the admission of the Illinois Territory as a state into the Federal Union, to be designated as the "State of Illinois". Such, agreeably to approved authorities, is the origin of the word Illinois; and such are the various uses it has served. A great State perpetuates the name, in memory of a populous and powerful race of redmen, once living in its borders, but now utterly perished from the earth.

From all accounts, it seems the Illinois Confederation claimed the extensive country bounded on the east by the ridge that divides the waters flowing into the Illinois from the streams that drain into the Wabash, between the headwaters of Saline Creek and a point as far north on the Illinois as the Desplaines, reaching still northward to the debatable ground between themselves, the Winnebagoes, the Sacs and Foxes, and the Kickapoos; and extending westward of the Mississippi. Their favorite and most populous villages were upon the Illinois and its two principal branches, the Desplaines and the Kankakee.

The area of the original country of the Illinois was soon reduced by continuous wars with their neighbors. The Sioux (Da-ko-ta) pressed them from the west; the Sacs and Foxes and Kickapoos, confederates, encroached upon their territory from the north; while war parties of the fierce Iroquois, coming from the east, rapidly decimated their numbers. These destructive influences were doing their fatal work, and the power of the Illinois was waning when they first came in contact with the French. Their sufferings rendered them pliable to the voice of the missionary; and, in their weakness, they hailed with delight the coming of the Frenchmen, with his promise of protection assured with gifts of guns and powder. The Illinois drew so kindly to the priests, the *coureurs des bois*, and soldiers that the friendship between the two races never abated; and when, in the order of events, the sons of France had departed from Illinois, the love of the natives for the departed Gaul was handed down as a precious memory to their children.

The military establishments at Detroit, Mich., and at Starved Rock, Ill.,\* for a while checked the incursions of the Iroquois

\* Under his letters patent, granted by the king of France to the seigniory of "The Country of the Illinois," LaSalle [so called after the name of the landed estate, near Rouen, France, belonging to his family, but whose primal

and stayed the calamity that was to befall the Illinois. We give a condensed account of some of these campaigns of the Iroquois into the Illinois country, as embraced in extracts which are taken from a Memoir on Western Indians, by M. DuChesneau, Intendent of Canada, and successor to Jean Tallon, dated at Quebec, September 13, 1681: "To convey a correct idea," says this French officer, "of the present state of all those Indian nations it is necessary to explain the cause of the cruel war waged by the Iroquois for these three years past against the Illinois. The former are great warriors, can not remain idle, and pretend to subject all other nations to themselves, and never want a pretext for commencing hostilities. The following is their assumed excuse for the present war: going about twenty years ago to attack the Foxes, they met the Illinois, and killed a considerable number of them. This continued during the succeeding years, and finally having destroyed a great many, they forced them to abandon their country and seek refuge in very distant parts. The Iroquois, having got rid of the Illinois, took no more trouble with them, but went to war against another nation called the 'An-dos-tagues,' [the Eries or Cats, so-called, and who were entirely destroyed by the Iroquois]. Pending this war, the Illinois returned to their country, and the Iroquois complained that they had killed forty of their people while on their way to hunt beaver in the Illinois country. To obtain satisfaction, the Iroquois resolved to make war upon them. Their true motive, however, was to gratify the British at 'Ma-nat-te' [New York] and 'Orange' [Albany], of whom they are too near neighbors, and who, by means of presents, engaged the Iroquois in this expedition, the object of which was to force the Illinois to bring their beaver to them, so that they may go and trade it afterward to the British; also to intimidate the other Indians, and constrain them to do the same thing.

name was René—Robert Cavelire] erected a fort and trading-post on the eminence of this rocky height, situated on the south side of, and overlooking, the Illinois River, some eight miles below Ottawa. The fort was called "Fort St. Louis", in honor of his patron *Louis IV*, and the place *Le Rocher* [the Rock]. The now generally received name of "Starved Rock" is derived from an alleged starving to death of a party of Indians corraled there by a remorseless enemy of besiegers. The occurrence is without authority to support it, other than several vague (though charming) traditions drawn from the "wonder-stories" of as many different tribes. One of the most interesting of these, both in matter and the manner of treating it, is preserved in a paper on "The Last of the Illinois," from the able pen of Hon. Judge Caton, and published in Number Three of FERGUS' HISTORICAL SERIES.

"The improper conduct of Sieur de LaSalle, governor of Ft. Frontenac, has contributed considerably to cause the latter to adopt this proceeding; for after he had obtained permission to discover the great river Mississippi, and had, as he alleged, the grant of the [country of the] Illinois, he no longer observed any terms with the Iroquois, and avowed that he would convey arms and ammunition to the Illinois, and would die assisting them." We break the thread of Chesneau's official letter to say to the reader that it must be remembered that LaSalle was not exempt from the attacks of that jealousy and envy which is inspired in the souls of little men toward those who plan and execute great undertakings. We see this spirit manifested in this letter. La Salle could not have done otherwise than supply fire-arms to the Illinois Indians; they were his friends and the owners of the country, the trade of which he had opened up at great hardship and expense to himself.

Proceeding with Chesneau's letter: "The Iroquois despatched in the month of April, of last year, an army consisting of between five and six hundred men, who approached an Illinois village [near the present site of Utica, LaSalle Co., Ill.], where Sieur Henry de Tonty, LaSalle's principal officer, happened to be with some Frenchmen and two Recollect Fathers [the catholic priests, Fathers Gabriel Ribourde and Zenobe Membre, whom the Iroquois left unharmed]. One of these, a most holy man [Father Ribourde] has since been killed by the Indians. But they would listen to no terms of peace proposed to them by Tonty, who was slightly wounded at the beginning of the attack; the Illinois, having fled a hundred leagues, were pursued by the Iroquois, who killed and captured as many as twelve hundred of them, including women and children, having lost only thirty men.\* The victory achieved by the Iroquois rendered them so insolent that they have continued ever since that time to send out divers war parties. The success of the last is not yet known, but it is not doubted they have been successful, because they are very warlike, while the Illinois are but indifferently so. Indeed, there is no doubt, and it is the universal opinion, that if the Iroquois are allowed to proceed, they will subdue the Illinois, and in a short time render themselves masters of all the Ottawa tribes, and direct the trade to the British, so that it is absolutely essential to make them our friends or to destroy them."

The building of Fort St. Louis upon the heights of Starved Rock by LaSalle, in 1682, gave confidence to the Illinois and

\* In this foray, the Iroquois drove the fugitive Illinois beyond the Mississippi.

their scattered remnants who had again returned to their favorite village. They were followed by bands of Weas, Pi-an-ke-shas, and Mi-am-ies, near kinsmen of the Illinois, and by the Shawnees and other tribes of remoter affinity; and soon a cordon of populous towns arose about the fort. The military forces of these villages at the colony of LaSalle, in 1684, was estimated at three thousand six hundred and eighty fighting men, the Illinois furnishing more than one-third of this number. Thus were the Iroquois barred out of the country of the Illinois, who, for a season, enjoyed a respite from their old enemies. The abandonment of Fort St. Louis as a military post, in 1702, was followed by a dispersion of the tribes and fragments of tribes, except at the Illinois village, where a straggling population retained possession. The Kaskaskias learning, in the year 1700, that France was making a military establishment and colony near the mouth of the Mississippi, started thither. They were intercepted on the way, and persuaded to halt above the mouth of the Ohio, and soon thereafter made themselves a permanent home on the banks of a stream which since then has borne their name, the Kaskaskia.

The Iroquois came no more, having war enough on their hands nearer home; but the Illinois were constantly harrassed by other enemies, the Sacs and Foxes, the Kickapoos, and the Pottawatomies. Their villages at Starved Rock and at Peoria Lake were besieged by the Foxes in 1722, and a detachment of a hundred men, commanded by Chevalier de Artaguiette and Sieur de Tisé, was sent from Fort Chartres to their assistance. The Foxes having lost more than a hundred of their men, abandoned the siege before the reinforcements arrived. "This success [says Charlevoix, the great French historian] did not, however, prevent the Illinois, although they had lost only twenty men, with some women and children, from leaving the Rock and Pim-i-toey [Peoria Lake] where they were kept in constant alarm, and to proceeding to unite with those of their brethren [the Kaskaskias] who had settled upon the Mississippi. This was a stroke of grace for most of them, the small number of missionaries preventing their supplying so many towns scattered far apart; but, on the other side, as there was nothing to check the raids of the Foxes along the Illinois River, communication between Louisiana and New France [Canada] became much less practicable."

The next fifteen years show a further decline in their numbers. In an enumeration of the Indian tribes connected with the Government of Canada, prepared in the year 1736, the name, location, and number of fighting-men of the Illinois are set down as follows: "Mitchigamias, near Fort Chartres, two hundred and

fifty; Kaskaskies, six leagues below, one hundred; Peorias, and the Rock, fifty; the Cahokias and Tamarois, two hundred;" making a total of six hundred warriors. The killing of Pontiac, some thirty years later, at Cahokia, whither he had retired after the failure of his bold efforts to rescue the country from the British, was laid upon the Illinois, a charge which, whether true or false, hastened their destruction. In an official letter to the secretary of war, of date March 22, 1814, Gen. Wm. H. Harrison says, "When I was first appointed governor of the Indiana Territory [May, 1800], these once powerful tribes were reduced to about thirty warriors, of whom twenty-five were Kaskaskias, four Peorias, and a single Mitchigamian. A furious war between them and the Sacs and Kickapoos reduced them to that miserable remnant which had taken refuge among the white people in the towns of Kaskaskia and St. Genieve." Since 1800, by successive treaties, they ceded their lands to the United States, and were removed to reservations, lying southwest of Kansas City, where, in 1872, they had dwindled to forty persons—men, women, and children, all told.

Thus have wasted away the original occupants of the larger part of Illinois, and portions of Iowa and Missouri. In their single village near Starved Rock, says Father Membre, who was there in 1680, "there were seven or eight thousand souls;" and, in 1684, their warriors were set down at twelve hundred. In the days of their power, they nearly exterminated the Win-ne-ba-goes. Their war-parties penetrated the towns of the Iroquois in the valleys of the Mohawk and the Genesee. They took the Mitchigamies under their protection, giving them security against enemies with whom they were unable to contend. They assisted the French in their wars against the Cherokees and the Chickasaws; and in the bitter struggle between the American colonies and the mother country on the one side, and Canada and France on the other, the Illinois tribes gave bountifully of their braves, who fought heroically and to the last in the losing cause of their Father O-ni-to [the king], across the great water.

This people who had dominated over surrounding tribes, claiming for themselves the name of Illini or Linneway, to distinguish their superior manhood, have disappeared from the earth; another race, representing a higher civilization, occupy their former domains; and, already, even the origin of their name and the places of their villages have become the subjects of antiquarian research.

## THE MIAMIS.

THE people known to us as the Miamis formerly lived beyond the Mississippi. Their migration from thence eastward through Wisconsin, Northern Illinois, around the southern bend of Lake Michigan to Detroit, thence up the Maumee, and down the Wabash, and eastward through Indiana into Ohio, as far as the Great Miami, can be followed through the writings of officers, missionaries, and travelers connected with the French. Referring to the mixed village of Mascoutins and others upon Fox River, near its mouth, in Wisconsin, Father Claude Dablon, who was there in 1670, says the village "is joined in the circle of the same barriers of another people named Ou-mi-a-mi, which is one of the Illinois nations, which is, as it were, dismembered from the others, in order to dwell in these quarters." "It is beyond this great river [the Mississippi, of which the father had been speaking in the paragraph preceding that quoted] that are placed the Illinois of whom we speak, and from whom are detached those who dwell here with the Five Nations [Mascoutins, or Kickapoos] to form here a transplanted colony."

From these quotations, there remains little doubt but that the Miamis were a branch of the great Ill-i-ni. This theory is not only declared by all French authorities, but is sustained by many British and American writers, among the latter of whom may be named Gen. Wm. H. Harrison, whose long acquaintance and official relations with the Northwestern Indians, especially the several sub-divisions of the Miami and Illinois tribes, gave him opportunities of which he availed himself to acquire an intimate knowledge concerning them. He says, "Although the language, manners, and customs of the Kaskaskias make it sufficiently certain that they derive their origin from the same source with the Miamis; the connection had been dissolved before the French had penetrated from Canada to the Mississippi." This assertion of Gen. Harrison that the tribal relations between the Illinois and Miamis had been broken prior to the exploration of the Mississippi Valley is sustained with great unanimity by all other authorities, and is illustrated in the long and disastrous wars waged upon the Illinois by the Iroquois, Sacs and Foxes, Kickapoos, and other enemies, in which there is no instance given where the Miamis ever offered assistance to their ancient kinsmen; on the contrary, they often lifted the bloody hatchet against them.

The Miami confederation was subdivided into four principal bands, since known under the name of Miamis, Eel-Rivers, Weas,

and Piankeshaws. French writers, and some of the colonial traders, have given names of two or three other subdivisions of the bands named; their identity, however, can not be clearly traced, and they figure so little in the accounts which we have of the Miamis that it is not necessary to specify their obsolete names. The Miamis, proper, have by different writers been called "Ou-mi-a-mi", "Ou-mi-am-wek", "Mau-mees", "Au-mi-am-i" (which has been contracted to Au-mi and to "O-mee"), and "Min-e-am-i". The Weas, whose name more properly is "We-we-hah", is called "8y-a-ta-nous", "Oui-at-a-nons", and "Ou-i-as" by the French, and in whose orthography the "8y" and "Ou" are equivalent in sound nearly to the letter of the English W. The British and colonial officers and traders spelled the word "Oui-ca-ta-non", "Way-ough-ta-nies", "Waw-i-ach-tens", and "We-hahs". The name Piankeshaws, in early accounts, figure as "Pou-an-ke-ki-as", "Pe-an-gui-chias", "Pi-an-gui-shaws", "Py-an-ke-shaws", and "Pi-an-qui-shaws". The Miami tribes were known to the Iroquois of New York as the Twigh-twees, a name generally used by the British as well as by the American colonists when referring to any of the Miami tribes.

In the year 1684, at LaSalle's Colony, at Starved Rock, the Miamis had populous villages, where the Miamis, proper, counted thirteen hundred warriors, the Weas five hundred, and the Piankeshaw band one hundred and fifty. At a later day, 1718, the Weas had a village "at Chicago, but, being afraid of the canoe-people [the Chippeways and Pottawatomies], left it, and passing around the head of Lake Michigan to be nearer their brethren farther to the east." Father Charlevoix, writing from this vicinity, in 1721, says: "Fifty years ago, the Miamis [*i. e.* the Wea band] were settled on the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, in a place called *Chicago*, from the name of a small river which runs into the lake, the source of which is not far distant from that of the river of the Illinois [meaning the Desplaines, which is the name by which it was often called in French authorities]. They are at present divided into three villages, one of which stands on River St. Joseph, the second on another river [the Maumee] which bears their name and runs into Lake Erie, and a third upon the River Ouabache, which empties its waters into the Mississippi. The last are better known by the appellation of Ouyatanons." In 1694, the governor of New France, in a conference with the Western Indians, requested the Miamis of the Pe-pe-ko-kia band who resided upon the Maramek [Kalamazoo River, in Michigan] to remove and join their tribe located on the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan; the governor giving it as his reason that he wished the

several Miami bands to unite, "so as to be able to execute with greater facility the commands which he might issue." At that time the Iroquois were making war upon Canada, and the French were trying to induce the western tribes to take up the tomahawk in their behalf. The Miamis promised to comply with the governor's wishes; and "late in August, 1696, they started to join their brethren on the St. Joseph. On their way they were attacked by the Sioux, and lost several men. The Miamis of the St. Joseph learning this hostility, resolved to avenge their slaughter. They pursued the Sioux to their own country, and found them entrenched in a fort with some Frenchmen of the class known as *coureurs des bois* [bush-lopers.] They nevertheless attacked them repeatedly, but were repulsed and were compelled to retire after losing several of their braves. On their way home, meeting other Frenchmen carrying arms and ammunition to the Sioux, they seized all they had, but did them no harm."

The Miamis were greatly enraged with the French for supplying the Sioux with fire-arms. It took all the address of Gov. Frontenac to persuade them from joining the Iroquois. Indeed, they seized Nicolas Perrot, the French trader, who had been commissioned to lead the Maramek band to the River St. Joseph, and would have burned him alive had it not been for the intercession of the Foxes in his behalf. This was the beginning of an alienation of kindly feeling of the Miamis toward the French, which was never restored; and from this period, the movements of the tribe were observed by the French with jealous suspicion.

The country of the Miamis extended west to the watershed between the Illinois and Wabash Rivers, which separated their possessions from those of their brethren, the Illinois. On the north were the Pottawatomies, who were slowly but persistently pushing their line southward through Wisconsin and around the west shore of Lake Michigan, as we shall see when coming to treat of them in a subsequent chapter.

Unlike the Illinois, the Miamis held their own until placed on an equal footing with tribes eastward of them, by obtaining possession of fire-arms. Their superior numbers and bravery enabled them to extend the limits of their hunting-grounds eastward into Ohio, far within the territory claimed by the Iroquois; and says Gov. Harrison, they "were the undoubted proprietors of all that beautiful country watered by the Wabash and its tributaries, and there remains as little doubt that their claim extended as far east as the Scioto." With implements of civilized warfare in their hands, they maintained their tribal integrity and independence; and they traded with and fought against the French, British, and

Americans by turns, as their interests or passions inclined; and made peace with or declared war against other nations of their own race as policy or caprice moved them. More than once they compelled the arrogant Iroquois to beg from the governors of the American colonies that protection which they themselves had failed to secure by their own prowess. Bold, independent, and flushed with success, the Miamis afforded a poor field for missionary work, and the Jesuit Relations and pastoral letters of the French priesthood have less to say of the Miamis than of any other westward tribe, the Kickapoos alone excepted. Referring to their military powers, Gen. Harrison says of them that, "saving the ten years preceding the Treaty of Greenville [1795], the Miamis alone could have brought more than three thousand warriors in the field: that they composed a body of the finest light troops in the world, and had they been under an efficient system of discipline, or possessed enterprise equal to their valor, the settlement of the country would have been attended with much more difficulty than was encountered in accomplishing it and their final subjugation would have for years been delayed. But constant wars with our frontier had deprived them of many of their warriors, the ravages of the small-pox, however, was the principal cause of the great decrease in their numbers."

It was only the Piankeshaw band of the Miamis, however, that occupied portions of Illinois subsequent to the dispersion of La Salle's colony about Starved Rock. The principal villages of the latter were upon the Vermilion River, and at and in the vicinity of Vincennes, Ind.

Their territory extended eastward to the Ohio River and westward to the ridge that divides the waters flowing respectively into the Kaskaskia and the Wabash. They were found by French officers in populous towns upon the Vermilion as early as 1718; later, they pushed the degenerating Illinois bands to the vicinity of Kaskaskia and neighboring villages, and hunted and dominated over the territory to the Mississippi, as high up, nearly, as the mouth of the Illinois.

After the conquest of the Northwest Territory by the colonies and the mother country, and the subsequent overthrow of Pontiac, the British Government sent out George Croghan to obtain the consent of the Indians to the occupation of Kaskaskia and other forts erected by the French in the western country. Croghan was captured by a war-party of Kickapoos, near the mouth of the Wabash, and taken prisoner to Vincennes; from thence he came overland, following the Great Trail leading to Detroit, through the prairies, along the crest of the dividing ridge before named,

crossing the Vermilion River west of Danville. He describes that part of the hunting-ground of the Piankeshaws between Vincennes and the Vermilion of the Wabash. That the reader may know how the Illinois country appeared to an eye-witness in 1765, who wrote down his observations at the time, we quote the following extracts from Col. Croghan's daily journal, of June 18th to the 22d, inclusive:

"We traveled through a prodigious large meadow [prairie] called the Piankeshaw's hunting-ground. Here is no wood to be seen, and the country appears like an ocean. The ground is exceedingly rich and partially overgrown with wild hemp. The land is well watered and full of buffalo, deer, bears, and all kinds of wild game. \* \* \* We passed through some very large meadows, part of which belongs to the Piankeshaws on the Vermilion River. The country and soil were much the same as that we traveled over for these three days past. Wild hemp grows here in abundance. Game is very plenty. At any time, in a half an hour, we could kill as much as we wanted.\* \* \* We passed through a part of the same meadow mentioned yesterday; then came to a high woodland, and arrived at Vermilion River, so called from a fine *red earth* found there by the Indians, with which they paint themselves. About a half of a mile from where we crossed this river is a village of Piankeshaws, distinguished by the addition of name of the river."

Next to the Illinois, the Piankeshaws were the most peacefully inclined toward the whites. Early intermarriages of their daughters with French traders, at Vincennes, and elsewhere, and with whom this tribe lived on terms of social equality, begat a generation that united them all in a common interest. It was, therefore, that General Clark, in his conquest of the Illinois country, found little trouble in transferring this friendliness of the Piankeshaws at Vincennes and the Vermilion towns to the American cause, the same as he had previously done at Kaskaskia and the neighboring mixed French and Indian villages upon the Mississippi. The Piankeshaws, barring individual exceptions, took no part in those bloody wars against the whites that followed the Revolutionary struggle. It was not they, but war-parties of the Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, and other northwestern tribes that terrorized over

\* There must have been more than one hundred persons in this cortege to provide food for; as the party alone by whom Croghan and his associates were captured, numbered eighty warriors. Hence, it would require a good deal of meat, doubtless their only means of sustenance, to supply their daily wants.

the white settlements, crystalizing along the Ohio, the Wabash, and their tributaries, and in southwestern Illinois. In the retaliatory raids of the Americans into the Indian territory, the innocent Piankeshaws often suffered avenging blows that should have fallen upon the guilty ones. The pioneer, burning with a sense of his wrongs, only considered that all redskins were Indians, and, without stopping to inquire whether they were of a friendly tribe or not, remorselessly slew upon sight any one of them whom he discovered. This state of affairs grew so bad that the Piankeshaws appealed to the Government, and General Washington issued his proclamation, especially forbidding the Piankeshaws from being harmed by the white people.

The capital of the Miami tribe, from earliest times, was at Ft. Wayne. As far back as the year 1700 they were there, and shortly before had assisted Canadians in making the "Portage"—the land carriage from the St. Marys across to Little River, a tributary of the Wabash. The near proximity of the headwaters of the Maumee, flowing eastwardly into Lake Erie, and Little River and the Wabash, flowing westward and south into the Mississippi, gave great importance to this Portage, making it the key to and giving it control of the communication between the vast area of country lying upon either side. The Miamis well knew this, and held possession until forced, at last, to yield it to the United States, in 1795, by the terms of the treaty at Greenville. At that treaty, Little Turtle, the great orator of the Miamis, protesting against its surrender, said: "Elder brother [meaning Gen. Wayne], when our forefathers saw the French and the English at the Miami village [as Ft. Wayne was then known], that *glorious gate* which your younger brothers [the Miamis] had the happiness to own, and through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass [that is, messages between the several tribes], from north to south, and east to west, the French and the English never told us they wished to purchase our lands from us." "The next place you pointed out to us was the Little River, and said you wanted two miles square at that place. This is a request that our fathers, the French or British, never made of us; *it was always ours*. This carrying place has heretofore proved, in a great degree, the subsistence of your brothers. That place has brought us, in the course of one day, the amount of twelve hundred dollars. Let us both own this place, and enjoy in common the advantages it affords." Gen. Wayne was inexorable; and, by the terms of the treaty, a piece of land six miles square, near the confluence of the Rivers St. Marys and St. Joseph, at Ft. Wayne, and a piece two miles square at the confluence of Little River with the Wabash, was ceded to the United States.

The Miamis at Ft. Wayne were regarded as the senior band of the tribe, from their superior intelligence and numbers; and to whom the other bands, except the Piankeshaws, at a later day, deferred in all matters of peace or war or affairs affecting the common interests of the tribe. The other branches of the great Miami family had extensive villages and cultivated fields on the Mississineway, near and above Peru, Indiana; along Eel River, near Logansport and above; upon the Wea plains, below Lafayette; upon Sugar Creek; and upon the beautiful prairie strip in the neighborhood of Terre Haute.

Subsequent to the Treaty of Greenville, their demoralization was rapid in its progress and terrible in its consequences. So much so, that when the Baptist missionary, the Rev. Isaac McCoy, was among them between the years 1817 and 1822, and drawing his conclusions from his own observation, he declared that the Miamis were not a warlike people. At the villages on Sugar Creek, Eel River, and the Mississineway, and particularly at Ft. Wayne, it was a continuous round of drunken debauchery whenever whisky could be obtained, of which men, women, and children partook alike; and life was often sacrificed in personal broils, or by exposure of the debauchees to the inclemency of the weather.

By treaties, entered into at various times from 1795 to 1845, the Miamis ceded their lands in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and removed west of the Mississippi; going in villages or by detachments from time to time. In 1838, at a single cession, they sold the U. S. Government 177,000 acres of land in Indiana, which was only a fragment of their former possessions, still retaining large tracts. Thus they alienated their heritage piece by piece to make room for the incoming white population, while they gradually disappeared from the valleys of the Wabash and Maumee. Few of them clung to their reservations, adapted themselves to the ways of the Americans, and their descendants are now to be met with in or about the cities that have sprung up in the localities named. The money received from the sales of their lands proved a calamity, as the proceeds were wasted for whisky.

The last of the Miamis to go westward was the Mississineway band. This remnant, comprising in all about 350 persons, in charge of Christmas Dazney,\* left their old homes, where many of

\* His name was also spelled Dazney, Dashney, and Daynett, the latter being the French orthography. He was born Dec. 25, 1799, at the so-called "Lower Wea Village", or "Old Orchard Town", or "*We-au-ta-no*", [The Rising Sun], within the southern suburbs of the present City of Terre Haute,

them had farm houses and had made considerable progress in agriculture, in the fall of 1846, going to Cincinnati. Here they were placed on a steamboat, taken down the Ohio, up the Mississippi and Missouri, and landed, late in the season, at Westport, near Kansas City. Ragged men and nearly naked women and

Ind. His father, Ambroise Dagney, was a native Frenchman, of Kaskaskia, and served throughout the Tippecanoe campaign, in Capt. Scott's Company of Militia, raised at Vincennes. He received a severe flesh wound at the battle near the Prophet's Town; lived for many years with his daughter, Mary Cott, formerly Mary Shields, on a reservation secured to her by the Treaty of St. Mary's, Oct. 2, 1818, and situated at the ancient Indian village near the "Vermilion Salines", some four miles west of Danville, Ill., where he died and was buried, in 1848. He was well known to the early citizens of Danville, and of the Wabash Valley from Danville to Vincennes. Upon all convivial occasions, which were by no means infrequent, he indulged his fondness for telling over the many thrilling incidents and dangerous experiences of his wild nomadic life, as hunter, trapper, boatsman, guide, and soldier. He boasted the fact of a personal acquaintance with Gov. Harrison, whose memory he held in the highest esteem; and anathematized with valuable profanity, all "bad Inguns", as he called those who were unfriendly to the whites.

Ambroise Dagney's wife—the only one he ever had, and the mother of Christmas Dagney and Mary Cott, was Me-chin-quam-e-sha, [The Beautiful Shade Tree], a sister of Jocco, or Jack-ke-kee-kah, [The Tall Oak], head chief of the Wea Band of Miamis, whose old and principal village was the one we have named near Terre Haute. Later, this band went higher up the Wabash to a secondary village near the mouth of Sugar Creek.

Under the instruction of Catholic teachers, the son, Christmas Dagnay received a good education. He spoke the English and French languages with great fluency, and was master of the dialects of the several Indiana and Illinois Indians. He served for many years at Fort Harrison [on the east bank of the Wabash, near and above Terre Haute], and elsewhere, as Government interpreter and Indian agent, filling these various positions of confidence and trust efficiently and honestly. Feb. 16, 1819, he was married to Mary Ann Isaacs, an educated Christian woman, of the Brothertown, N.Y. [Mohegan] Indians, whose acquaintance he had made while she was spending a few weeks on a visit at the Mission House of Rev. Isaac McCoy, then situated on Raccoon Creek, near Rosedale, Park Co., Ind. Mr. McCoy performed the marriage ceremony, as he says, "in the presence of our Indian neighbors, who were invited to attend; and we had the happiness to have twenty-three of the natives partake of a meal prepared for the occasion."

Christmas Dagney died in 1848, at Cold Water Grove, Kansas, and his widow subsequently married, Baptiste Peoria, mentioned in a note further on.

children, forming a motley group, were huddled upon the shore of a strange land, without food or friends to relieve their wants and exposed to the bitter December winds that blew from the chilly plains of Kansas.

From Westport the Mississineways were conducted to a place near the present village of Lewisburg, Kansas, in the county since named Miami. They suffered greatly and nearly one-third of their number died the first year. Mrs. Mary Babtiste Peoria, then wife of Christmas Dazney, the agent having these unfortunate people in charge, and who accompanied her husband in this work, stated to the writer "that strong men would actually cry when they thought about their old homes in Indiana, to which many of them would make journeys bare-footed, begging their way and submitting to the imprecations hurled upon them from the door of the white man as they asked for a crust of bread. I saw fathers and mothers give their little children away to others of the tribe for adoption, and then singing their funeral songs and joining in the solemn dance of death. Afterward go calmly away from the assemblage, never again to be seen alive."

In 1670, the Jesuit father, Claude Dablon, introduces to our notice the Miamis at the village of Maskoutench; where, as we have already shown, the chief was surrounded by his officers of state in all the routine of barbaric display, to whom the natives of other tribes paid the greatest deference. Advancing eastward, in the rear line of their valorous warriors, the Miamis pushed their villages through Illinois into Michigan and Indiana, and as far into Ohio as the river still bearing their name. Coming in collision with the French, the British, and the Americans; reduced by constant wars; and decimated, more than all, by vices contracted by intercourse with a superior race, whose virtues they failed to emulate, they make a westward turn; and having in the progress of time described the round of a most singular journey, we at last behold the miserable remnant on the same side of the Mississippi from whence their warlike progenitors had come nearly two centuries before.

The Wea and Piankeshaw band had preceded the Mississineway to the westward; they too had become reduced to about two hundred and fifty persons. They, with the Miamis and remaining fragments of the Kaskaskias, the latter containing under that name what yet remained of the several subdivisions of the old Illini confederacy, were collected by Baptiste Peoria and consolidated under the title of The Confederated Tribes.\* This little

\* This remarkable man was the son of a daughter of a sub-chief of the

confederation sold out their reservations in Miami County, Kansas, and retired to a tract of reduced dimensions within the Indian

Peoria Tribe, and was born, according to the best information, in 1793, near the confluence of the Kankakee and Maple, as the DesPlaines River was called by the Illinois Indians. His reputed father's name was Baptiste, a French Canadian and trader, among the Peoria Band. Young Peoria was called Batticy, by his mother; later in life, he was known as Baptise "*the Peoria*", and finally, as Baptiste Peoria. The people of his tribe gave the name a liquid sound, pronouncing the name as if it were spelled Paola. The county-seat of Miami Co., Kansas, is named after him. He was a man of large stature, and possessed of great strength, activity, and courage; and, like Keokuk, the great chief of the Sac-and-Fox Indians, a fearless and expert horseman. Having a ready command of the French and English languages, and being familiar, as well, with the several dialects of the Pottawatomies, Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, Illinois, and Kickapoos; these qualifications as a linguist soon brought him into prominence among the Indians, while his known integrity as readily commended his services to the United States. From the year 1821 to 1838, he was employed in assisting the removal of the above tribes from Indiana and Illinois to their respective reservations westward of the Missouri. His duties in these relations brought him in contact with many of the early settlers on the Illinois, the Kaskaskia, and the Wabash Rivers and their constituent streams. He represented his tribe at the Treaty of Edwardsville, Ill., September 25, 1818. By this treaty, at which there were present representatives from each of the five Tribes comprising the Illinois or Illini nation, it appears that for a period of years anterior to that time, the Peoria band had lived and were then living separate and apart from the others.

Baptiste Peoria was in the service of the General Government for nearly thirty years, in the Indian Department; and in 1867, became head chief of the consolidated Miami and Illinois tribes, and went with them to their newly-assigned reservation in the north-east part of the Indian Territory, where he died at an advanced age, Sept. 13, 1873. Some years before, he married Mrs. Mary Dagney, widow of Christmas Dagney, and to this lady is the author indebted for copies of the "*Western Spirit*", and the "*Fort Scott Monitor*", newspapers published at Paola and Ft. Scott, Kansas, respectively, containing biographical sketches and obituary notices of her late husband, from which this note has, in the main, been collated.

It may well be said that Baptiste was "*The Last of the Peorias*". By precept and example he spent the better portion of a busy life in persistent efforts to save the fragment of the Illinois and Miamis by encouraging them to adopt the ways of civilized life. His widow, Mary Baptiste, *nee* Dagney, survives, and is living in her elegant homestead at Paoli, Kansas, in comfortable circumstances.

Territory. Since this last change of location, in 1867, they have made but little progress toward a higher civilization. Those that remain of the once numerous Illini and Miami tribes are now reduced to less than two hundred persons, and for the most part are a listless, idle people, possessing none of the spirit that had inspired the breasts of their ancestors.

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## THE KICKAPOOS.

THE Kickapoos and Mascoutins are treated here as but one tribe, for the difference between them was only nominal at best. The name is found written in French authorities as "Kic-a-poux", "Kick-a-pous", "Kik-a-poux", "Kik-a-bou", "Quick-a-pous", and "Kick-a-pous". Some authors claim the name to have been derived from the Algonquin word *Nee-gig* [the otter, or the spirit of an otter]. Prof. Henry R. Schoolcraft, a recognized authority on the ethnology of the northwestern tribes, alluding to the Kickapoos, says, they are "an erratic race, who, under various names, in connection with the Sacs and Foxes, have, in good keeping with one of their many names, which is said, by one interpretation, to mean 'Rabbits-Ghost' [Wah-boos, with little variation in dialect, being the word for rabbit], skipped over half the continent, to the manifest discomfort of both German and American philologists and ethnographers, who, in searching for the so-called 'Mascontens', have followed, so far as their results are concerned, an *ignis fatuus*".

This tribe has been long connected with the history of the Northwest, in which they acquired great notoriety, as well for the wars in which they were engaged with other tribes, as for their persistent hostility to the white race throughout a period of nearly one hundred and fifty years. They are first noticed by the French explorer, Samuel Champlain, who, in 1612, discovered the "Mascoutins residing near the place called Sak-in-am",—or, rather, Sac-e-nong, meaning, in Chippeway, the country of the Sacs, which, at this time, comprised that part of the State of Michigan, lying between the head of Lake Erie and Saginaw Bay, on Lake Huron. In 1669-70, as seen in an extract from Father Allouez, quoted in the chapter relating to the Miamis, the Kickapoos and Mascoutins were found in connection with the Miamis, near the mouth of Fox River, Wisconsin. In the same letter, Father Allouez says that "four leagues from this

mixed village are the Kickabou, who speak the same language with the Mascoutench".\*

This people were not pliant material in the hands of the missionaries. In fact, they appear to have acquired early notoriety in history by seizing Father Gabriel Ribourde as he was walking near the banks of the Illinois River, absorbed in religious meditation, and whom they "carried away, and broke his head", as Henry de Tonti quaintly expresses it, in referring to this ruthless murder. Again, in 1728, as Father Ignatius Guignas, compelled to abandon his mission among the Sioux, on account of a victory which the Foxes had obtained over the French, was attempting to reach the Illinois, he, too, fell into the hands of the Kickapoos and Mascoutens, and for five months was held a captive, and constantly exposed to death. During this time he was condemned to be burned, and was only saved through the kindly intervention of an old man in the tribe, who adopted him as a son. While a prisoner, his brother missionaries of the Illinois relieved his necessities by sending timely supplies, which Father

\* The Mascoutins, in the works of French authors, appear as "Mascoutench", "Mackkoutench", "Machkouteng", "Masqutins", and "Maskouteins". English and American called them "Masquattimies", "Mascoutins", "Musquitons", "Musquitos", a corruption used by American colonial traders, and "Meaows", which was the English synonym for the French word *prairie*, before the latter had become naturalized into the English language.

The derivation of the name was a subject of discussion among the early French missionaries. Father Marquette, with some others who followed the Huron Indian rendition of it, says, "Maskoutens in Algonquin may mean Fire Nation", and this is the "name given them"; while Fathers Allouez and Charlevoix (whose opportunities to know were better), together with the still more recent American authors, claims that the word signifies a prairie or "a land bare of trees". The Ojebway word for prairie is "*Mush-koo-da*". Bands of the same tribe on the upper Mississippi, on the authority of Dr. James, call it *Mus-ko-tia*. Its derivative or root is *Ish-koo-ta*, *skoutay*, or *scote* (ethnologists differ as to its orthography), and which is the algonquin word for *fire*. The great plains westward of the Wabash and the lakes, was truly "a land barren of trees", kept so by the annually recurring fires that swept over through the tall grass in billows of flame and smoke; and this distinguishing feature is aptly preserved in the name the Indians gave it. Major Forsyth, long a trader at Peoria, in his manuscript account of the Indian tribes of his acquaintance, quoted by Dr. Drake in his *Life of Black Hawk*, says, "The Mascos or Mascoutins were, by French traders of a more recent day, called *gens des prairies* [men of the prairie], and lived and hunted on the great prairies between the Wabash and Illinois Rivers".

Guignas used to gain over the good will of his captors. Having induced them to make peace, he was taken to one of the Illinois missions, where he was suffered to remain on parole until Nov., 1729, when his captors returned and took him back to their own country; since which it seems nothing has ever been heard of him.

The Kickapoos early incurred the displeasure of the French by depredations south of Detroit. In 1712, a band of them, living in a village near the mouth of the Maumee River, in company with about thirty Mascoutens, were about to make war upon the French Post at Detroit. They took prisoner one Langlois, a messenger, on his return from the Miami country, whither he was bringing many letters from the Jesuit fathers of the several Illinois villages, as well, also, despatches from Louisiana. The mauraders destroyed the letters and despatches, which gave much uneasiness to M. Du Boisson, commandant at Detroit. As a result of this act, a canoe, laden with Kickapoos on their way to the villages near Detroit, was captured by the Hurons and Ottawas, residing near by, and who were allies of the French. Among the slain was the principal Kickapoo chief, whose head, with three others of the same tribe, were brought to Du Boisson, who informs us "that the Hurons and Ottawas committed this act for the alleged reason, that the previous winter the Kickapoos had taken some of the Hurons and Iroquois prisoners, and also because they had considered the Kickapoo chief a "true Outtagamis"; that is, they regarded him as one of the Fox nation.

From the village of Machkoutench, on Fox River, Wis., the Kickapoos seemed to have passed to the south, extending their right flank in the direction of Rock River, and their left toward the southern trend of Lake Michigan. Prior to 1718, they had villages on Rock River and in the vicinity of Chicago. Indeed, Rock River appears as Kickapoo River on contemporaneous French maps.

In 1712, the Mascoutins entered the plot formed for the capture of the post of Detroit; their associates repaired to the neighborhood, and, whereas they were awaiting the arrival of the Kickapoos, they were attacked by a confederation of Indians, who were friendly to the French and had hastened to the relief of the garrison. The destruction that followed this attempt against Detroit, was, perhaps, one of the most remorseless, in which white men took a part, of which we have an account in the annals of Indian warfare. The French and Indian forces, after protracted efforts, compelled the enemy to abandon their position and flee to Presque Isle, opposite Hog Island, near

Lake St. Clair, some distance above the fort. Here they held out for four days; their women and children, in the meantime, actually starving, numbers of whom were dying every day from hunger. Messengers were sent to the French commander, begging for quarter, and offering to surrender at discretion, only craving that the remaining survivors might be spared the horrors of a general massacre. Perpetual servitude as the slaves of victors; anything rather than a wholesale destruction. The Indian allies of the French would listen to no terms. "At the end of fourth day", says the French commander, "after fighting with much courage, and not being able to resist further the Muscotins surrendered at discretion to our people, who gave them no quarter. Our Indians lost sixty men, killed and wounded. The enemy lost a thousand souls—men, women, and children. All our allies returned to our fort [at Detroit] with their slaves [captives], and their amusement was to shoot four or five of them every day. The Hurons did not spare a single one of theirs".

From references given, it is apparent that this people, like the Miamis and Pottawatomies, were progressing south and eastward. This movement was probably caused by the Sioux, whose fierce warriors were pressing them from the northwest. As early as 1695, the Foxes, with the Kickapoos and Mascoutins, were meditating a migration toward the Wabash as a place of security. From an official document sent from Quebec, relating to the occurrences in Canada during that year, the department at Paris is advised "that the Sioux, who have mustered some two thousand warriors for the purpose, would come in large numbers and seize *their* village. This has caused the Outagamies to quit their country and disperse themselves for a season, and afterward to return and save their harvest. They are then to retire toward the Wabash and form a settlement so much the more permanent, as they will be removed from the incursions of the Sioux, and in a position to easily effect a junction with the Iroquois and English, without the French being able to present it. Should this project be realized, it is very apparent that the Mascotins and the Kickapoos will be of the party, and that the three tribes, forming a new village of fourteen or fifteen hundred men, would experience no difficulty in considerably increasing it by attracting other nations thither, which would be of most pernicious consequences". That the Mascoutins, at least, did go soon after this toward the lower Wabash, is shown by the fact of their presence about Juchereau's trading-post, which erected near the mouth of the Ohio, in the year 1700. It is questionable, however, if either the Foxes or Kickapoos followed the Muscotins

to the Wabash country, and it is evident that the Mascoutins, who survived the epidemic that broke out among them while at Juchereau's post, returned to the north. The French having effected a conciliation with the Sioux, we find that, for a number of years subsequent to 1705, the Mascoutins were again back among their affinities, the Foxes and Kickapoos upon their common hunting grounds in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin.

Later, and by progressive approaches, the Kickapoos worked further southward, and established themselves in the territory lying between the Illinois and Wabash Rivers, and south of the Kankakee. This migration was not accomplished without opposition and blood shed in punishing the Piankeshaws east and south to the Wabash, and the Illinois tribes south and west upon the lower waters of the Kaskaskia. We are without authentic *data* as to the period of the time when this conquest was consummated. At the treaty, concluded at Edwardsville, Ill., July 30, 1819, between Augusta Chouteau and Benjamin Stephenson, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the principal chiefs and warriors of the Kickapoo tribe, the latter ceded the following lands, residue of their domain until then undisposed of, *viz.*: "Beginning on the Wabash, at the *upper* point of their cession made by the second Article of their Treaty at Vincennes, on the 9th day of December, 1809;\* running thence northwestwardly to the dividing line between the State of Illinois and Indiana; thence north along said line to the Kankakee; thence with said river to the Illinois River; thence down the latter to its mouth; thence with a direct line to the *northwest corner* of the *Vincennes tract*, as recognized in the Treaty with the Piankashaw tribe of Indians at Vincennes, on the 30th day of December, 1805;† and thence with the western and northern

\* The beginning point here referred to is "on the Wabash", at the mouth of the Big Vermilion River. By previous cessions it appears that the acknowledged territory of the Kickapoos extended down the Wabash nearly as far as Vincennes. *Vide* 9th Article of the Treaty of September 30, 1809, concluded at Ft. Wayne, between the United States and the Delewares, Potawatomes, Miamis, and Eel River tribes; Treaty of Vincennes of Dec. 9, 1809, between the United States and the Kickapoos.

† The boundaries of "the Vincennes tract" were settled by the terms of the treaty at Ft. Wayne, July 7, 1803, between Gov. Harrison of the Indiana Territory (which, at that time, embraced all of the present States of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin), and the several Delaware, Shawnee, Potawatomie, Miami, Eel River, Wea, Piankeshaw, Kickapoo, and Kaskaskia tribes within his jurisdiction. The first Article of this treaty also explains

boundaries of the cessions heretofore made by the said Kickapoo tribe of Indians,\* to the beginning. *Of which last described tract of land, the said Kickapoo tribe claim a large portion by descent from their ancestors, and the balance by conquest from the Illinois nation, and uninterrupted possession for more than half a century*". The claim of the Kickapoos to the country referred to does not rest alone upon the assertion of the Kickapoos, but is supported by officers of the French, English, and American governments, when they respectively asserted dominion over it. Under date of April 21st, 1752, M. de Longueuil, commandant at Detroit, incorporates in an official report upon the condition of Indian affairs in his department, that he had received advices from "M. de Lingeris, commandant at the Oy-a-ta-nons,† who believes that great reliance is not to be placed on the Mascoutens, and

the reasons that led to its consumation. It is as follows: "Whereas, it is declared by the 4th Article of the Treaty of Greenville, that the United States reserve for their use the post of Vincennes, and all the lands adjacent, to which the Indian titles have been extinguished. And, whereas, it has been found difficult to determine the precise limits of said tract as held by the French and British Governments; it is hereby agreed, that the boundaries of said tract shall be as follows: Beginning at *Point Coupee* ["cut-off" or noted bend in the river some eighteen miles above Vincennes], on the Wabash, and running thence, by a north seventy-eight degrees west, twelve miles [into Illinois]; thence [south by west] by a line parallel to the general course of the Wabash, until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through the mouth of White River [about eighteen miles below Vincennes]; thence, by the last mentioned line [east by south], across the Wabash and toward the Ohio River, seventy-two miles; thence by a line north twelve degrees west, until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles with the same, passing through *Point Coupee*, and, by the last mentioned line, to the place of beginning." The boundaries of "the Vincennes tract", as thus defined, appear on many of the early maps, and displays a tract of land in the shape of a parallelogram, some thirty-six miles wide, by seventy-two long, lying, for the most part, on the east side of the Wabash and in Indiana, an average width of about ten miles, only, off of the west end of it being in Illinois, the northwest corner of which, referred to in the text, is about twenty miles north, and some ten miles west of Vincennes.

\* By previous treaties, the Kickapoos had ceded to the United States their claims to the territory from "the Vincennes tract" as high up the Wabash as the mouth of Pine Creek, Warren Co., Ind., and extending west of the same stream an average width of thirty miles.

† Fort Ouiatanon situated on the west bank of the Wabash River, a few miles above Attica, Ind.

that their remaining neutral is all that is to be expected from them and the Kickapoos." Later, and after the northwest territory had been lost to France and ceded to Great Britain as the fruit of the French colonial war, and after the failure of the Indian confederation under Pontiac to reconquer the same territory, Sir William Johnson, having in charge the Indian affairs of the western nations, sent his deputy, George Croghan, to the Illinois to pacify the Indians "to soften their antipathy to the English, to expose the falsehood of the French, to distribute presents, and prepare a way for the passage of troops"\* who were preceding westward to take possession of Fort Chartes and other military establishments within the ceded territory. Croghan left Fort Pitt on May 17th, 1765, starting down the Ohio in two batteaux, having with him several white persons, and a number of Delaware, Iroquois, and Shawnee Indians, as deputies of tribes inhabiting the upper waters of the Ohio, with whom Croghan had already concluded treaties of reconciliation toward the British. On the evening of the 6th of June, Croghan reached the mouth of the Wabash. They dropped down the river six miles, "and came to a place called the old Shawnee village, some of that nation having previously lived there". He remained here the next day, occupying his time in preparing and sending despatches to Fort Chartes. We quote from his journal: "On the 8th, at daybreak, we were attacked by a party of Indians, consisting of eighty warriors of the Kickapoos and Musquatomies, who killed two of my men and three Indians, wounded myself and all the rest of my party, except two white men and one Indian; then made myself and all the white men prisoners, plundering us of everything we had. A deputy of the Shawnees, who was shot through the thigh, having concealed himself in the woods for a few minutes after he was shot—not knowing but that they were southern Indians, who were always at war with the northward Indians—after discovering what nation they were, came up to them and made a very bold speech, telling them that the whole northward Indians would join in taking revenge for the insult and murder of their people. This alarmed those savages very much, who began to excuse themselves, saying, their fathers, the French, had spirited them up, telling them that the Indians were coming with a large body of southern Indians to take their country from them and enslave them; that it was this that induced them to commit this outrage. After dividing the plunder (they left a great part of the heaviest effects behind), they set off with us to *their village of Ou-at-to-non* in a great hurry,

\* *Vide* Parkman's History Conspiracy of Pontiac.

being in dread of a large party of Indians, which they suspected were coming after me. Our course was through a thick woody country, crossing a great many swamps, morrasses, and beaver ponds."\* From the *data* given, taken with the well-established historical fact that the Kickapoos approached the Wabash from the northwest, it is evident that, prior to 1752, they had driven the Illinois tribes from the hunting grounds lying eastward and south of the Illinois River. In this conquest they were assisted

\* The war party continued up the river the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th; and on the 15th reached Vincennes. "On my arrival there", says Croghan, "I found a village of eighty or ninety French families, seated on the east side of the river, being the one of the finest situations that can be found. The country is level and clear, the soil very rich, producing wheat and tobacco. I think the latter preferable to that of Maryland or Virginia. The French inhabitants hereabouts are an idle, lazy people, a parcel of renegades from Canada, and much worse than the Indians. They took a secret pleasure at our misfortunes, and the moment we arrived they came to the Indians, exchanging trifles for their valuable plunder. As the savages took from me a considerable quantity of gold and silver, the French traders extorted ten half Johnies from them for one pound of Vermilion. Here is likewise an Indian village of the Pyan-ke-shaws [in their language called 'Chip-kaw-kay', rendered the town of Brushwood. Dillon's History of Indiana,] who were much displeased with the party that took me, telling them that 'our and your chiefs are gone to make peace, and you have begun a war for which our women and children will have reason to cry.' \* \* \* Port Vincent is a place of great consequence for trade, being a fine hunting country along the Wabash, and too far for the Indians, which reside hereabouts, to go enter to the Illinois, or elsewhere, to fetch their necessaries." On the 17th, Croghan and his captors crossed the Wabash, and came up through the prairies referred to in the chapter on the Miamis, and on the 23d entered a large bottom on the Wabash, within six miles of Fort Oui-a-ta-non, Croghan further says: "The Kickapoos and Musquatamies, whose warriors had taken us live nigh the fort, on the same side of the river, where they have two villages." Croghan's Journal continues a daily account of his movements up the Wabash to Ft. Wayne, down the Maumee, and up the lakes to Detroit, and from thence to Niagara Falls; and gives a fair insight into the appearance and topography of the extensive country he traversed as it then appeared, and illustrates the temper of the Indians who inhabited it. The original manuscript diary was obtained by Mr. Featherstonhough, and first published in his "American Journal of Geology", and in December, 1831, a reprint of 100 copies was issued in pamphlet form. It may also be found in the appendix of Mann Butler's valuable History of Kentucky, in either of the editions of 1834 or 1836.

by the Sacs and Foxes, and Pottawatomies, who made a common cause of warfare upon the Illinois tribes. "Tradition (says the Pioneer Historian of Illinois, the Rev. John M. Peck) tells us of many a hard fought battle between the original owners of the country and these intruders. *Battle Ground Creek* is well-known on the road from Kaskaskia to Shawneetown, twenty five miles from the former place, where the Kaskaskias and their allies were dreadfully slaughtered by the united forces of the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies."\*

Within the limits of the territory defined by the treaty at Edwardsville in 1819, the Kickapoos, for generations before that time, had many villages. The principal of these were Kickapogo-oui, on the west bank of the Wabash, near Hudsonville, Crawford Co., Ill., and known, in the early days of the Northwest Territory, as Musquiton [Mascoutine]; another on both sides of the Vermilion River, at its confluence with the Wabash. This last village was destroyed by Maj. John F. Hamtramck, in Oct., 1790, whose military forces moved up the river from Vincennes to create a diversion in favor of Gen. Harmer, then leading the main attack against the Miami town at Fort Wayne and other Indian villages in that vicinity. Higher up the Vermilion were other Kickapoo towns, particularly the one some four miles west of Danville, and near the mouth of the Middle Fork. The remains of one of the most extensive burial-grounds in the Wabash Valley, still attest the magnitude of this once populous Indian city; and, although the village site has been in cultivation for over fifty years, every recurring year the ploughshare turns up flint arrow-points, stone-axes, gun-flints, gun-locks, knives, silver brooches, or other mementoes of its former inhabitants. These people were greatly attached to the country watered by the Vermilion and its tributaries; and Gov. Harrison found a difficult task to reconcile them to ceding it away. In his letter to the secretary of war, of Dec. 10, 1809, referring to his efforts to induce the Kickapoos to part with it, the governor says he "was extremely anxious that the extinguishment of title should extend as high up as the Vermilion River, but it was objected to because

\* "An Historical Sketch of the early American settlements in Illinois, from 1780 to 1800. Read before the Illinois State Lyceum, at its Anniversary, August 16, 1832. By J. M. Peck." Published in No. 2 of Vol. 1, of The Western Monthly Magazine for February, 1833. Other accounts fix the date of this last great battle about the year 1800, and ascribe its planing and execution to the great Pottawatomie warrior and medicine man known as Wah-bun-ouí We-ne-ne or "*The Juggler*".

it would include a Kickapoo village. This small tract of about twenty miles square\* is one of the most beautiful that can be conceived, and is, moreover, believed to contain a very rich copper mine. I have myself frequently seen specimens of the copper; one of which I sent to Mr. Jefferson in 1802. The Indians were so extremely jealous of any search being made for this mine, that traders were always cautioned not to approach the hills which were supposed to contain the mine.”†

The Kickapoos had other villages on the Embarras, some miles west of Charlestown, and still others about the headwaters of the Kaskaskia. During the period when the territory west of the Mississippi belonged to Spain, her subjects residing at St. Louis “carried on a considerable trade among the Indians eastward of the Mississippi, particularly the Kickapoos near the headwaters of the Kaskaskia.”‡ Further northward they had still other villages, among them one toward the headwaters of Sugar Creek, a tributary of the Sangamon River, near the southwest corner of McLean County.§ The Kickapoos had, besides, villages west of Logansport and Lafayette, in the groves upon the prairies, and finally, a great or capital village near what is well-known as “*Old Town*” timber, in West Township, McLean Co., Ill. These last were especially obnoxious to the pioneer settlers of Kentucky, because the Indians living or finding a refuge in them, made frequent and exasperating raids across the Ohio, where they would murder men and women, and carry off captive children, to say nothing of the lesser crimes of burning houses and stealing horses. So annoying did these offences become, that several expeditions were sent out in retaliation. That, com-

\* It extended up the Vermilion River a distance of twenty miles in a direct line from its mouth.

† The specimens referred to were doubtless “drift copper”, now supposed to have drifted in from their native beds in the neighborhood of Lake Superior. Since the settlement of the Vermilion county by the whites, many similar specimens have been found. Only within the present year, 1883, some workmen, while engaged in digging a cellar in Danville, unearthed, from near the surface of the ground, a piece of pure copper, weighing eighty-seven pounds. It was secured by Dr. J. C. Winslow of Danville, for Prof. John Collett, state geologist of Indiana, who has deposited it in the State Cabinet at Indianapolis.

‡ Sketches of Louisiana, by Maj. Amos Stodard.

§ This village was burned in the fall of 1812, by a part of Gov. Edwards’ forces, while on their march from Camp Russell to Peoria Lake. *Vide* Gov. Reynolds’ My Own Times.

manded by Gen. Chas. Scott, in the month of May, 1791, destroyed the Kickapoo town near Oui-a-ta-non [referred to in connection with the capture of Croghan]. In the month of August of the same year, a second expedition, lead by Gen. Jas. Wilkinson, left Kentucky on a similar mission. In the instructions given by Gov. St. Clair (then the executive head of the military as well as of the civil affairs of the Northwest Territory) to Gen. Wilkinson, we find the following: "Should the success attend you at L'Anguile,\* which I wish and hope, you may find yourself equal to the attacking the Kickapoo town situated in the prairie not far from Sangamon River, which empties itself into the Illinois River. By information, that town is not distant from L'Anguile more than three easy days' marches. A visit to that place will be totally unexpected, and most probably attended with decided good consequences; neither will it be hazardous, for the men, at this season, are generally out hunting beyond the Illinois country. Should it seem feasible from circumstances, I recommend the attempt in preference to the towns higher up the Wabash, and success there would be followed by great eclat." The general did not reach the great Kickapoo town. His troops, jaded by forced marches, and the effectual destruction of the Eel River village, and encumbered with prisoners,† "launched westward through the boundless prairies", only to become "environed on all sides with morasses, which forbade his advancing". They were compelled, toward the end of the day, to return. On their way back, however, they struck the Kickapoo town west of Lafayette, and destroyed it.

The people of Kentucky were not the only sufferers from depredations of this tribe. From their towns near the Wabash, the Kickapoo war parties lurked upon the skirts of the settlements on the American Bottom from Kaskaskia to Cahokia, bent on the murder or capture of any unprotected person that fell in their way, excepting alone those of French blood, who, with their property, were, with rare exceptions, exempt from molestation. So strong was the regard of the Kickapoos, in common with all other Algonquin tribes, for the Frenchman.

\* The Eel River town on Eel River, some six miles above Logansport, Ind., and which was to be attacked.

† His prisoners consisted mostly of women and children, and numbered thirty-four in all. His instructions, like those issued to Gen. Scott, required him to take all women and children they could, and turn them over to the officer in command at Ft. Washington (now Cincinnati), in the hope that by thus paying the Indians back in kind, they would cease their cruel forays upon helpless and unoffending non-combatants.

Mr. Peck's historical sketch of the early American settlements in Illinois, before quoted, is largely taken up with narrations of the killing and capture of white settlers in the neighborhoods named, and the destruction or the plunder of their property. We summarize a few paragraphs from his address, by way of illustration:

"The Kickapoos were numerous and warlike, and had their principal towns on the Illinois and the Vermilion of the Wabash. They were the most formidable and dangerous neighbors to the whites, and, for a number of years, kept the settlements [on the American Bottom] in continual alarm." The address then takes up a narration of yearly events from 1783 to 1795, showing the sufferings and dangers to which the white population was exposed on account of Indian depredations, inflicted in the main by Kickapoos.

Among the most notable captures was that of Wm. Biggs, in 1788. On the morning of March 28 of that year, while he, in company with young John Vallis, was going from Bellefontaine to Kahokia, they were surprised by a war party of sixteen Kickapoo Indians. Vallis was wounded in the thigh, and, being mounted on a fine horse, was soon beyond reach of the flying balls, and made his escape only to die, however, of his wounds. Four bullets were shot into Biggs' horse; and the animal became so frantic with pain, and frightened, more than all, with the yells of the savages, that it became unmanageable; Biggs' "gun was thrown from his shoulder, and twisted out of his hands"; in trying to recover his gun, and being incumbered "with a large bag of beaver fur, which prevented him from recovering his saddle, which had neither 'girth or crupper', it turned and fell off of the horse, and Biggs 'fell with it'." The rider held on to the horse's mane, and was soon upon his feet, making ineffectual attempts to remount, as his terrified horse dragged him along for some "twenty or thirty yards", when his "hold broke, and he fell on his hands and knees, and stumbled along four or five steps before he could recover himself." "By the time I got fairly on my feet", continues the narrator, "the Indians were about eight or ten yards off me. I saw there was no other way to make my escape but by fast running, and I was determined to try it, and had but little hopes at first of being able to escape, I ran about one hundred yards before I looked back—I thought almost every step I could feel the scalping-knife cutting my scalp off. I found that I was gaining ground on them, I felt encouraged, and ran about three hundred yards further, and looking back, saw that I had gained about one hundred yards, and considered myself

quite out of danger.” Biggs’ hopes, however, were not well grounded. The morning was cold, and before setting out from home on his journey, he had clothed himself in a heavy undercoat, over which was a greatcoat, securely tied about the waist with a large, well-worn silk handkerchief, tied, in the hurry of the moment, in a double hard knot. Anticipating a long race, he endeavored to divest himself of all surplus garments; the knotted handkerchief would not untie; he pulled his arms out of the sleeves of his greatcoat, which, trailing on the ground, would “wrap around his legs and throw him down”, so that he “made no headway at running”. His pursuers, seeing his predicament, renewed the chase with more vigor, and soon overtook and secured him. His captor, says Biggs, “took the handle of his tomahawk, and rubbed it on my shoulder and down my arm, which was a token that he would not kill me, and that I was his prisoner.”

At the risk of “traveling further out of the record” of the general scope of this chapter, we quote a few more extracts from Mr. Biggs’ Narrative, as they admirably illustrate some of the caprices and traits of Indian character. At the first evening’s encampment, and the Indians having finished their eating, one of them sat, “with his back against a tree, with his knife between his legs. I, says Biggs, was sitting facing him with my feet nearly touching his. He began to inquire of me what nation I belonged to. I was determined to pretend that I was ignorant and could not understand him. I did not wish them to know that I could speak some Indian languages, and understood them better than I could speak. He first asked me, in Indian, if I was Mat-to-cush (that is, in Indian, a Frenchman); I told him no. He then asked me if I was a Sag-e-nash (an Englishman); I told him no. He again asked if I was a She-mol-sea (that is, a long knife or Virginian); I told him no. He then asked me if I was a Bostonely\* (that is an American); I told him no. About a minute afterward, he asked me the same questions over again, and I answered him *yes!* He then spoke English, and caught up his knife, and said, ‘You are one d— son of a b——’. I really thought he intended stabbing me with his knife. I knew it would not do to show cowardice. I, being pretty well acquainted with their manners and ways, jumped up on my feet, and spoke in Indian, and said, ‘*Man-e-t-wa, Kien-de-pa-way*’ (in English it is, ‘No! I am very good’); and clapped my hands on my breast

\* Mr. Biggs’ interpretation is a little too broad. *Boston-e-ly* was an epithet obtained by the Indians from the Canadian French, who applied it to the New Englanders or Yankies.

when I spoke, and looked very bold. The other Indians all set up such a ha! ha! and laughter, that it made him look very foolish, and he sat still and became quite sulky."

The Kickapoos took their prisoner across the prairies of Illinois, reaching their village on the west bank of the Wabash, near old Fort Weaoatanon (which, at the time of this occurrence, was merely a trading-post), on the tenth day of his capture. Remaining several weeks with the Kickapoos and at the trading-post, Mr. Biggs effected his release through the kindly interference of the traders at the latter place, prominent among whom was an Englishman, Mr. McCauslin, and Mr. Bazedone, a Spaniard, with whom Biggs "had an acquaintance in the Illinois country", and who paid the Indians in trade an equivalent of \$260 for his ransom, for which sum Biggs "gave his note, payable in the Illinois country." Later, he passed down the Wabash and the Ohio, and up the Mississippi, in a pirogue or large canoe, and safely reached his family.

Mr. Biggs was greatly liked by his captors and their kinsmen, who complimented for his bravery, his fleetness of foot, his shapely limbs, long and beautiful hair, and handsome physique. They adopted him into their tribe, giving him the name of *Moh-cos-se-a*, after the name of a chief who had been killed by the whites the year before. After which he "was to be considered one of that Kickapoo family, in place of their [slain] father." He was also offered, in marriage, a handsome Indian girl, a relation of the same family, who, encouraged by her parents, exhausted her arts, in a manner of becoming modesty, to win his consent; Mr. Biggs protesting that he was already a married man, the father of three children, whose mother was his wife, and that it was against the laws of his country for a man to have more than one wife at a time. This Indian girl had prepared his first regular meal after his arrival at the Wabash. Says Biggs, "it was hominy, beat in a mortar, as white as snow, and handsome as I ever saw, and very well cooked. She fried some dried meat, pounded very fine in a mortar, in oil, and sprinkled it with sugar. She prepared a very good bed for me, with bear-skins and blankets." She brought him "hot water in a tin cup, and shaving soap, and more clean water in a basin", and a cloth to wipe his hands and face after the process of shaving was done with. "She then told me to sit down on a bench. I did so. She got two very good combs—a coarse and a fine one. It was then the fashion to wear long hair. Mine was very long and thick, and much tangled and matted—I traveled without any hat or anything else on my head, and that was the tenth day it had not

been combed. She combed out my hair very tenderly, and then took the fine one and combed and looked my head nearly one hour. She went to a trunk and got a ribbon, and greased my hair very nicely. The old chief [father of the girl, as we learn elsewhere] gave me a fine regimental blue cloth coat, faced with yellow buff cloth; the son-in-law gave me a very good beaver Mackinaw hat. These they had taken from some officers they had killed. Then the widow squaw took me into her cabin and gave me a new ruffled shirt and a very good blanket." All these he put on, and, at the request of the donors, he walked the floor to their delight. The girl followed him to the abode of the widowed and orphaned family to whom he had been given, and which was in another neighborhood, where she took her place at his cabin door, silently waiting, in the hope he would relent and invite her in. "She stood by my door for sometime after dark—I did not know when she went away. She stayed two days and three nights before she returned home. I never spoke to her while she was there. She was a very handsome girl, about 18 years of age, a beautiful full figure, and handsomely featured, and very white for a squaw. She was almost as white as dark complexioned women generally are; and her father and mother were very white skinned Indians."\*

To resume. In the desperate plans of Tecumthe, the Kickapoos took an active part. This tribe caught the infection at an early day of those troubles; and in 1806, Gov. Harrison sent Capt. Wm. Prince to the Vermilion towns with a speech addressed to all the warriors and chiefs of the Kickapoo tribe; giving Capt. Prince further instructions to proceed to the villages of the prai-

\* Mr. Biggs had been one of Gen. Clark's soldiers in the conquest of the Illinois, and liking the country, early after the close of the Revolutionary War, he returned and settled at the Bellefontaine, the name of an early settlement in Monroe Co., Ill., ten miles north of Kaskaskia. He held several territorial and state offices, and filled them with honor and ability. In 1826, shortly before his death, he published "a narrative" of his capture by and his experience while with the Kickapoos. It is a pamphlet of twenty-three pages, printed with poor type on very common paper. But few copies were issued, and scarcely any of these seem to have been preserved. It was only after a search of several years that the writer was so fortunate as to get sight of one. Gov. Reynolds, in his *Pioneer History of Illinois*, gives a fair sketch of Mr. Biggs. That given in the text is condensed or quoted directly from the "Narrative", and differs from J. M. Peck's, as it makes no mention, whatever, of the Ogle Brothers being in company with Biggs and Vallis at the time of the capture.

rie bands, if, after having delivered the speech at the Vermilion towns, he discovered there would be no danger to himself in proceeding beyond. The speech, which was full of good words and precautionary advice, had little effect; and "shortly after the mission of Capt. Prince, the Prophet found means to bring the whole of the Kickapoos entirely under his influence." [*Vide* Memoirs of Gen. Harrison. We produce extracts of Gov. Harrison's "talk", referred to, to show the style of such addresses. Gen. Harrison, being an adept in this kind of literature, could suit such papers to the occasion, and draft them within the range and to the understanding of the people for whom they were intended, better, perhaps, than any other agent the Government ever had in the troublesome field of Indian diplomacy. "Wm. H. Harrison, Gov., etc., Supt. of Indian affairs, etc., etc., to his children, the chiefs and warriors of the Kickapoo tribe." My children: I lately sent you a message by one of your warriors, but I have not yet received an answer. The head chief of the We-as has, however, been with me, and has assured me that you still keep hold of the chain of friendship, which has bound you to your father since the treaty made with Gen. Wayne [referring to the Treaty of Greenville, of 1795].

"My children, this information has given me great pleasure, because I had heard that you had suffered bad thoughts to get possession of your minds.

"My children, what is it you wish for? Have I not often told you that you should inform me of all your grievances, and that you should never apply to your father in vain.

"My children: Be wise, do not follow the advise of those who would lead you to destruction; what is it they would persuade you to?—to make war upon your fathers, the Seventeen Fires? [The United States, then seventeen in number.]—What injury has your father done you?—If he has done any, why do you not complain to him and ask redress?—Will he turn a deaf ear to your complaints? He has always listened to you, and will listen to you still; you will certainly not raise your arm against him.

"My children, you have a number of young warriors, but when compared to the warriors of the United States, you know they are but as a handful. My children, can you count the leaves on the trees, or the grains of sand in the river banks? So numerous are the warriors of the Seventeen Fires.

"My children, it would grieve your father to let loose his warriors upon his red children; nor will he do it, unless you compell him; he had rather that they would stay at home and make corn for their women and children; but he is not afraid to make war; he knows that they are brave.

“My children, he has men armed with all kinds of weapons; those who live on the big waters [the sea coast] and in the big towns, understand the use of muskets and bayonets [of which last the Indians had become very much afraid since their disastrous encounter with Gen. Wayne in the engagement on the Maumee, in 1794, where the bayonet was used with terrible effect], and those who live on this side the mountains [the Alleghanies] use the same arms that you do [long range rifles].

“My children: The Great Spirit has taught your fathers to make all the arms and ammunition which they use; but you do not understand this art; if you should go to war with your fathers, who would supply you with those things? The British can not; we have driven them beyond the lakes, and they can not send a trader to you without our permission.

“My children, open your eyes to your true interest; your father wishes you to be happy. If you wish to have your minds set at ease, come and speak to him. My children, the young man [Capt. Prince] who carries this is my friend, and he will speak to you in my name; listen to him as if I were to address you, and treat him with kindness and hospitality.”

The Kickapoos fought in great numbers and with frenzied courage at the battle of Tippecanoe. They early sided with the British in the war that was declared between that power and the United States the following June; and sent out many war parties, that kept the settlements in Indiana and Illinois in constant peril; while other warriors of their tribe participated in almost every battle fought during this war along the western frontier.

As a military people, the Kickapoos were inferior to the Miamis, Delawares, and Shawnees, in movements requiring large bodies of men; but they were preëminent in predatory warfare. Small parties, consisting of from five to twenty or more, were the usual number comprising their war parties. These would push out hundreds of miles from their villages, and swoop down upon a feeble settlement, or an isolated pioneer cabin, and burn the property, kill the cattle, steal the horses, capture the women and children, and be off again before an alarm could be given.

While the Pottawatomies and other tribes, in alliance with the British, laid siege to Ft. Wayne, the Kickapoos, assisted by the Winnebagoes, were assigned to the capture of Ft. Harrison.\*

\* Finished Oct. 28, 1811, and situated on the east bank of the Wabash, about two miles above the lower Wea Town of “Wa-au-ta-no”, and a mile or more above the present City of Terre Haute, Ind. It was erected by the forces under Gov. Harrison, while on their way from Vincennes to the Proph-

They nearly succeeded, and would have taken it but for the most heroic and determined defence, that gave its commander, Capt. Zachary Taylor, a national renown.

The plan of the attack was matured by the Kickapoo war chief, Pa-koi-shee-can,\* who, in person, undertook the execution of the most difficult and dangerous part of it. First the Indians loitered about the fort, having a few of their women and children with them, to induce a belief that their presence was friendly, while the main body of warriors were secreted at a distance waiting for favorable developments. Pretending they were in want of provisions, the men and women were allowed to approach near the fort, and were thus given opportunity to inspect the fort and its defences. A dark night, giving the appearance of rain, favored the plan which was at once executed. The warriors were brought to the front, and women and children sent to the rear. Pa-koi-shee-can, with a large butcher knife in each hand, threw himself at length upon the ground. He drove a knife, held in one hand, into the ground, and drew his body up against it; then reached forward with the knife in the other hand, and driving that into the ground, again drew himself along. In this way, like a snake in the grass, he approached the lower block-house. He heard the sentinels on their rounds on the inside of the palisade. As the guards advanced toward that part of the works where the lower block-house was situated, Pa-koi-shee-can would lie still; and when the guards made the turn and moved in the opposite direction, he again crawled nearer. In this way the crafty savage gained the very walls of the block-house. There was a crack between the logs of the block-house,† and through this opening the Kickapoo placed a quantity of dry grass, bits of wood, and other combustibles, brought for the purpose in a blanket, tied pouch fashion upon his back. While the preparation for this incendiarism was in progress, the sentinels, in their

et's Town, during the memorable Tippecanoe campaign; and, by unanimous request of all the officers, christened after the name of their commander. It was enclosed with palisades, and officers and soldiers barracks, and defended at two angles with two block-houses, similar to that seen in illustrations of old Forts Wayne and Dearborn.

\* The *Blackbury Flower*, abbreviated by the French to La Farine [The Flower], the name by which he was generally known among the white people.

† Gen. Harrison also mentions this fact, and adds that this building was used for the storage of whisky and salt; that the cattle had licked the chinking out to get at the salt, and that the opening between the logs was made in this way.

rounds on the opposite side of the block-house, passed within a few feet of the place where the fire was about to be lighted. All being in readiness, and the sentinels at the further side of the enclosure, Pa-koi-shee-can struck a fire with his flint, and thrust it within, and threw his blanket quickly over the opening, to prevent the blaze from flashing outside, alarming the garrison before the building was well on fire. When assured that the fire was well under way, he fell back and gave the signal, when the attack was immediately begun by the Indians at the opposite extremity of the fort with great fury. The lower block-house burned down in spite of all the efforts of the garrison to prevent it; and, for a while, the Indians were exultant, feeling assured of a complete victory. Capt. Taylor constructed a barricade with material taken from another building; and, by the time the block-house had consumed, the Indians, to their great disappointment, discovered a new line of defence, closing the breach through which they had expected to effect an entrance. [The Indian account of the attack on Ft. Harrison, as above given, was first published in 1879, in the writer's "Historic Notes", etc. It is in harmony with official reports, except that the latter, for want of information on the part of those who wrote them, contain nothing as to plans of the Indians, nor how the block-house was fired. The account given in the text was narrated to the writer by Mrs. Mary A. Baptiste, as it was told to her by Pa-koi-shee-can himself. This lady, with Christmas Dagney, her first husband, were at Ft. Harrison in 1821, where the latter was assisting in the disbursement of annuities to the Indians then assembled there to receive them. The business and spree that followed, occupied two or three days. Pa-koi-shee-can was present with some of his people, to receive their share of the annuities; and the old chief, having leisure, edified Mr. Dagney and his wife with a minute account of his attempt to take the fort, pointing out the positions and movements of himself and his warriors. As he related the story, he warmed up, and indulged in a great deal of pantomime, which gave force to, as it heightened the effect of, the narration. The particulars are given substantially as Mrs. Baptiste repeated them to the writer. She had never read an account of the engagement.]

We find no instance in which the Kickapoos were allied with either the French or the British, in any of the intrigues or wars for the control of the fur trade, or the acquisition of disputed territory, in the Northwest. They did not mix or mingle their blood with French or other white people; and, as compared in this regard with other tribes, in the voluminous treaties with the Federal Government, there is a singular absence of land reserva-

tions in favor of half-breed Kickapoos. Unlike, the Illinois, the Miamis, and other tribes living upon the lines of the early commerce of the country, or whose villages were marts of the fur trade, the Kickapoos kept at a distance, and escaped the demoralization which this trade, and a contact with its unscrupulous emissaries, inflicted upon the tribes coming within their baneful influence.\* As compared with other Indians, the Kickapoos were industrious, intelligent, and cleanly in their habits, and were better armed and clothed. As a rule, the men were tall, sinewy, and active; the women lithe, and many of them by no means lacking in beauty.† Their dialect is soft and liquid when contrasted with rough, guttural language of the Pottawatomies.

With the close of the war of 1812, the Kickapoos ceased their hostilities toward the whites, and a few years later, disposed of the residue of their lands in Illinois and Indiana, and, with the exception of a few bands, emigrated west of the Mississippi. Gov. Reynolds says of them, "They disliked the United States so much, that they decided when they left Illinois, that they would not reside within the limits of our Government, but would settle in Texas."† A large body of them *did* go to Texas; and when the Lone Star Republic became a member of the Federal Union, these Kickapoos retired to New Mexico; and later, some of them went even to old Mexico. Here, on these frontier borders, these wild bands have, for years, maintained the reputation of their sires, and enterprising race. Col. R. B. Marcy, in 1854, found one of their bands upon the Chocktaw reservation, near the Wichita River. He says of them, "They, like the Delawares and Shawnees, are well armed with good rifles, in the use of which they are very expert, and there are no better hunters or warriors upon the borders. They hunt together on horseback, and after a party of them have passed through a section of country, it is seldom that any game is left in their trace. They are intelligent, active, and brave, and frequently visit and traffic with

\* Says Maj. Stoddard, in his Sketches of Louisiana, "There is a striking difference between those Indians who live in the neighborhood of the whites and those who reside at a distance from them. The former, especially if accustomed to a long intercourse, have wonderfully degenerated. They have gradually imbibed all the vices of the whites, and forgotten their own virtues. They are drunkards and thieves, and act on all occasions with the most consummate duplicity." The observations of Maj. Stoddard are corroborated by Gov. Harrison, Judge Jacob Burnett, and other eminent men, speaking from their own experience.

† Gov. Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois.

the prairie Indians, and have no fear of meeting those people in battle, providing the odds are not more than six to one against them.”\*

The Kickapoos of the Vermilion, comprising the bands of Mac-ca-naw, or Mash-e-naw (*The Elk-Horn*), Ka-an-a-kuck, and Pa-koi-shee-can, were the last to emigrate. They lingered in Illinois upon the waters of the Embarrass, the Vermilion, and its northwest tributaries, until 1832 and 1833; when they joined a body of their people upon a reservation set apart for their use west of Fort Leavenworth, and within the limits of Brown and Jackson Counties, Kansas, where the survivors and the descendants of those who have died now reside upon their farms. Their good conduct, comfortable homes, and well-cultivated fields, attest their steady progress in the ways of civilized life. The wild bands have always been troublesome along the southwestern borders; every now and then their depredations form the subject of some item of current newspaper notices. For years the Government failed in its efforts to induce these bands to remove to some place within the Indian Territory, where they might be restrained from annoying the border settlements of Texas and New Mexico. Some years ago, a part of the semi-civilized Kickapoos in Kansas, preferring their old, wild life, left their reservations, and joined the bands to the Southwest. After years' wanderings in quest of plunder, they were persuaded to return, and in 1875, settled in the Indian Territory, and supplied with the necessary implements and provisions, to enable them to go to work and earn an honest living. In this effort toward reform, they are now making commendable progress.† In 1875, the civilized Kickapoos in the Kansas Agency numbered 385; while the wild or Mexican band numbered 420, as appears from the official report on Indian affairs for that year. Their numbers were never great, as compared with the Miamis, or Pottawatomies; however, they made up for this deficiency by the energy of their movements. In language, manners, and customs, the Kickapoos bear a very close resemblance to the Sac and Fox Indians, whose allies they generally were, and with whom they have, by some writers, been confounded.‡

\* Marcy's "Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border."

† Report of Commrs. on Indian Affairs.

‡ Corroborative of this, Geo. Catlin, in his admirable work on the North American Indians, says, "The Kickapoos had long lived in alliance with Sacs and Foxes, and their language was so similar, that the two seemed to be almost one family." Dr. Jediah Morse, Albert Gallatin, and other American authorities could be cited to the same effect, were it at all necessary.

## THE WINNEBAGOS.

IN "The Jesuit Relations", for the years 1653 to 1670, inclusive, this tribe are alluded to under various names, as Ouimbegouc, Ouimpegouec, and Ouinibegoutz—the French "Ou" being nearly synonymous in the sound of its pronunciation with the English letter W,—and was a name given them by the Algonquins, with whom the meaning was *Fetid*, translated by the French as *Puants*. The Algonquin tribes called the Winnebagoes, say the missionary fathers, by this name because the latter came from the westward ocean, or salt water, which the Indians designated as the "Fetid Water".\* The Winnebagoes called themselves Hochungara [O-chun-ga-ra], or Ochungarand, which is to say, on the authority of Dr. Schoolcraft, "the trout nation, or Horoji [fish eaters]." They were of the Dacota, or Sioux stock, to whose language their own assimilated as nearly as it differed radically from that of their Algonquin neighbors. Their incursion into the ancient territory of the Illinois was strenuously opposed by the latter; and the disputed boundary line between the two shifted north or south, as the fortune of war favored the one or the other. The final chances, however, were with the Illinois, whose greater numbers and equal bravery were more than a match for their adversaries, who, for the most part, were driven well back within the present limits of Wisconsin, and where, in more modern times, they have been regarded as a tribe

\* The Winnebagoes were first met with by the Jesuit fathers, near the mouth of Fox River—originally called the Kan-kan-lin—at the head of Green Bay, Wis. Their presence here gave to the waters of Green Bay the first name, by which it was designated in the Jesuit Relations, and the early maps, "*Lac-des-Puants*", and "*Le Baye des Puants*". As early as 1647 and 1648, it is referred to in "The Relations" as follows: A peninsula, or strip of land, quite small, separates this Superior Lake [referring to Lake Superior] from another third lake, called by us '*the lake of the Puants*', which also discharges itself into our fresh-water sea, about ten leagues more toward the west than the Sault,"—*i. e.*, the Sault de Ste. Marie, connecting Lake Superior with Lake Huron. "On its shores", continues this "Relation", "dwell a different people, of an unknown language; that is to say, a language that is neither Algonquin nor Huron. These people are called Puants [stinkards], not on account of any unpleasant odor that is peculiar to them, but because they say they came from the shores of a sea far distant toward the West, the waters of which being salt, they call themselves 'the people of the sea'."

of that State. Still, the territorial claims of the contestants was not finally settled until 1825, when, after a nearly continuous warfare of almost two centuries with the Illinois or their successors, it was agreed at a treaty, held at Prairie du Chien, between the United States, the Winnebagoes, the Sacs and Foxes, the Pottawatomies, and other attending tribes, that "the Winnebago country should be bounded as follows: Southeasterly, by Rock River, from its source near the Winnebago Lake [in Central-eastern Wisconsin], to the Winnebago Village, about forty miles above its mouth," etc., etc.; [near the mouth of the Peck-a-ton-o-kea, Jo Daviess Co., Ill.] A map will indicate what portion of Illinois this boundary describes.

As compared with the Algonquin tribes, history records but few complaints against the Winnebagoes in the predatory warfare upon the white settlements. The bravery of their warriors is fully attested, however, in the several engagements with the forces of Gov. St. Clair and Gen. Wayne, in which they fought with conspicuous courage. The whole tribe were fairly carried by Tecumthe and his brother, the Prophet, and gave hearty support to all the nefarious schemes of these agitators. Naw-kaw, the principle chief of their nation, and Hoo-tshoop-kaw, of lesser note, were two of Tecumthe's personal attendants, and followed him in all his extended missions of proselytism among the nations of the Mississippi Valley. In the war of 1812, these two Winnebagoes were members of the sacred band, that guarded Tecumthe's person; they were near him when he fell, with mortal wounds, at the battle of the Thames, and assisted in bearing his dead body from the field to a place of secure interment.\*

\* At the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, concluded Aug. 1, 1829, at which the Winnebagoes ceded their lands in Illinois and Wisconsin to the United States, Caleb Atwater, Esq., one of the commissioners acting on the part of the latter, there met Naw-kaw, who, he says, "complained to me that, in all of our accounts of Tecumthe, we had only said of him that, 'Winnebago, who always accompanies Tecumthe', without calling the Winnebago by his name, Naw-kaw Caromaine."—"Atwater's Tour to Prairie du Chien." The same author, in his "History of Ohio", says, in this connection, while at Prairie du Chien, in 1829, "Naw-caw [Wood] and Hoo-tshoop-kaw [Four legs] were with him; and that, from statements of these constant companions of Tecumthe, during nearly twenty years of his life, we proceed to state, that Tecumthe lay with his warriors in a thick underbrush, on the left of the American army; that these Indians were at no period of the battle out of their thick underbrush; that Naw-caw saw no officer between them and the American army; that Tecumthe fell [at] the very first fire of the Kentucky dragoons, pierced by

At the engagement at Tippecanoe, the conduct of the Winnebago braves was a matter of especial mention. We quote from Gen. Harrison's Memoirs: "A Winnebago chief approached the exterior [camp] fire of Capt. Barton's company, where the lines had been considerably drawn in, and pushing up the brands to make a light, squatted down to peck his [gun] flint, or to do something with his gun. He was, however, immediately fired at from Capt. Cook's company, which was not more than twenty yards from him, and fell dead into the fire. One of the men asked the captain's permission to go and scalp him; and, as no attack had been made on that part of the line for some time, he was allowed to go. The Yankee, however, being inexperienced in the business, it took him some time to effect it; he was fired at, and returned to his company with the scalp in his hand, indeed, but with a ball through his body, which caused his death in a few hours after. In the course of the battle, the Indian was taken off, without being observed by Captain Cook, and conveyed to the [Prophet's] town, where his body was found and known by its having been scalped and much burned. The body had been taken away without Capt. Cook's perceiving it, and is an instance of the care with which the Indians remove the dead bodies of their friends in action. At Tippecanoe, they rushed up to the bayonets of our men, and in one instance, related by Capt. Snelling, an Indian adroitly put the bayonet of a soldier aside, and clove his head with a war-club—an instrument on which there is fixed a triangular piece of iron, broad enough to project several inches from the wood." "Their conduct on this occasion, so different from what it usually is, was attributed to a confidence of success, with which their Prophet had inspired them, *and to the distinguished bravery of the Winnebago warriors.*"

The only disturbances with which this people seem to have been connected, subsequent to the war of 1812, was that of the so-called Winnebago War [or scare] of 1827. Several acts of reciprocal hostility had been committed between individual Winnebagoes and whites along the upper Mississippi, which soon defected the whole tribe, and, for a while, threatened the peace of the entire northwestern frontier. Gov. Reynolds, in his "My Own Times", gives the following account of the cause that provoked the breach of the peace: "About the last of July,

thirty bullets, and was carried four or five miles into the thick woods, and there buried by the warriors, who told the story of his fate. This account was repeated to me three several times word for word, and neither of the relaters ever knew the fictions to which Tecumthe's death has given use."

1827,\* the Winnebago War occurred in the country around and north of Galena, in this State. The cause of this small speck of war was a great outrage committed by the whites on the Indians, which was of such brutality, that it is painful to record. Two keel-boats, of the contractor to furnish provisions for the troops at the Falls of St. Anthony, stopped at a large camp of the Winnebago Indians, on the river not far above Prairie du Chien. The boatman made the Indians drunk—and, no doubt, were so themselves—when they captured some six or seven squaws, who were also drunk. These squaws were forced on the boat for *corrupt and brutal purposes.*” [The words are put in Italics by the Governor.] “But not satisfied with this outrage on female virtue, the boatmen took the squaws with them in the boats to Fort Snelling, and returned with them. When the Indians became sober, and knew the injury done them in this *delicate point*, they mustered all their forces, amounting to several hundreds, and attacked the boats in which the squaws were confined. The boats were forced to approach near the shore in a narrow pass of the river,† and thus the infuriated savages assailed one boat, and permitted the other to pass down in the night. The boatmen were not entirely prepared for the attack, although to some extent they were guarded against it. They had procured some arms, and were on the alert to some degree. The Indians laid down in their canoes, and tried to paddle them to the boat; but the whites, seeing this, fired their muskets on those in the canoes. It was a desperate and furious fight, for a few moments, between a good many Indians exposed in open canoes, and only a few boatmen, protected to some extent by their boats. One boatman, a sailor by profession on the lakes and ocean, who had been in many battles with the British during the war of 1812, saved the boat and those of the crew who were not killed. The man was large and strong, and possessed the courage of an African lion. He seized a part of the setting-pole of the boat, which was about four feet long, and having on the end a piece of iron, which made it weighty, and a powerful weapon in the hands of Saucy Jack, as this champion is called. It is stated that when

\* Gov. Reynolds errs as to the time. The attack on the keel-boat, mentioned a little further on, was on the evening of June 26; and the grievances which induced the assault, occurred some days before that. *Vide* a valuable paper on the “Early Times in Wisconsin”, contributed by Hon. James H. Lockwood, of Prairie du Chien, and published in Vol. 2, Wis. Hist. Col.

† The place was near the mouth of Bad-Ax River; and the attack was made near sunset. Judge Lockwood’s paper, before quoted.

the Indians attempted to board the boat, Jack would knock them back into the river as fast as they approached. The boat got fast on the ground, and the whites seemed doomed, but with great exertion, courage, and hard fighting, the Indians were repelled. The savages killed several white men and wounded many more, leaving barely enough to navigate the boat. It is said that Jack had four Indian scalps, which he took from the same number of Indians that he killed himself. In the battle the squaws escaped to their husbands, and, no doubt, the whites did not try to prevent it. Thus commenced, and thus ended the bloodshed of the Winnebago War."

The effusion of blood would not have ended here, but for the prompt measures taken by Gen. Lewis Cass to prevent it. The latter, with Col. Thos. L. McKenney, as commissioners on behalf of the United States, were at Butte des Morts\* on a day fixed for a treaty to be held, in part, to settle some matters as to boundaries that were "left undefined by the treaty of Aug. 19, 1825, at Prairie du Chien", and to establish the boundaries of "the tract claimed by the former French and British Governments" at Green Bay. We quote the following from an article on "Early Times in Wisconsin", written by Hon. H. A. Tenney:† "On the day fixed for the council, not an Indian appeared. Alarmed at this and other hostile signs, Gen. Cass rapidly descended the river [Wisconsin] to Prairie du Chien, where the people had all taken shelter in the garrison,‡ and where he heard of the attack on the government boat. Hastening to Galena, he notified the citizens there of their danger, and advised them to build a block-house for their protection. From Galena Gen. Cass proceeded to Jefferson Barracks [a few miles below St. Louis]. A large force, under Gen. [Henry] Atkinson, immediately came up the

\* The "Butte des Morts"—hill of the dead—near the banks of Fox River, in Winnebago Co., Wis.; a large and apparently artificial mound, said to contain the remains of Indian warriors, killed in ancient battles. Its notoriety dates back of all written history, however early, of this part of the Northwest, and gathers about it the charms of many traditions.

† Published in Vol. 1, of the "Wisconsin Historical Collections."

‡ Fort Crawford, Wis., on the left bank of the Mississippi, just above the mouth of the Wisconsin, and so named in honor of Wm. H. Crawford, Secretary of War. Previous to this, June, 1814, during the war of 1812, Prairie du Chien was captured, from emissaries of the British, by an expedition sent up the Mississippi by Gov. Wm. Clark of Missouri, under command of Capt. Z. Taylor; and sixty of the latter's men, in charge of Lieut. Perkins, remained there and erected a fort, which they named Fort Shelby.

river in boats as far as the portage at Fort Winnebago,\* Generals Dodge and Whitesides, with companies of volunteers, following along each side on land, and scouring out the lurking savages. A force from Green Bay concentrated on the same spot; and the Indians beheld, with dismay, a formidable army in the midst of their country. The result was a treaty of peace, and the giving up of Red Bird [a Winnebago chief], who had, a year previous, massacred a family near Prairie du Chien."

While these events were taking place on the Mississippi and in Wisconsin, then a part of the Territory of Michigan, matters were by no means quiet in northern Illinois. The inhabitants at Fort Dearborn, alarmed at the quite apparent unfriendly demeanor of the Indians frequenting that Post, and from which the United States military forces had been withdrawn, dispatched messengers to the Pottawatomie village of Big-Foot, at Geneva Lake, to learn the purposes of the Winnebagoes, and ascertain if Big-Foot's band intended joining them. The report brought back was not favorable, and the excited citizens, at the suggestion of Gurdon S. Hubbard, looked toward the Wabash for assistance. Accordingly, Mr. Hubbard, leaving Chicago about four o'clock in the evening, following an Indian trail, a distance of a hundred and twenty-seven miles, through an uninhabited country, reaching the settlements two miles south of Danville in the early afternoon of the next day. Within the next twenty-four hours, the Vermilion-County Battalion, as the inhabitants capable of bearing arms

\* Erected near the head of Fox River, at the Portage, or land carriage, between it and the Wisconsin, which, at the time referred to, was right in the heart of the "Winnebago country". This "carrying place" is a noted spot in the discovery and exploration of the Northwest. Here Father Marquette and Louis Joliet, on the 10th day of June, 1673, with the assistance of their two friendly Miami guides, transported their canoes a distance of "twenty-seven hundred paces" from the scarcely-discernible channel of Fox River, choked as it was with a rank and tangled growth of wild oats, to the broad current of the Wisconsin; down which they voyaged, says the good father, "alone in an unknown country, in the hands of Providence"; and we may add, on a journey that immortalized him an unsought fame, and first gave the Mississippi River the name it bears, and (to that part of the stream above the mouth of the Arkansas) a place in geography. Mrs. John H. Kinzie, in her "Wau-Bun"—a volume replete with valuable historical matter entertainingly arranged, relating to "The Early Day in the Northwest"—gives a beautiful sketch of Fort Winnebago, drawn by her own pencil, as it appeared in 1831, while she resided there, her husband having charge of the Indian agency at that station.

were called, were assembled at Butler's Point, the then county-seat; and a volunteer force of fifty men organized; and on the next day—having dispersed, in the meantime, to their homes to cook up five-days' rations—were on their way to Fort Dearborn, where they and Mr. Hubbard arrived on the seventh day after his departure. Several days later, word was received of the success of Gen. Cass' movements, and the termination of hostilities.\*

In the so-called Black-Hawk War, in Illinois and Wisconsin in 1832, "it was feared", say Judge Jas. Hall and Col. Thos. L. McKenney, in their *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, "that the Winnebagoes, inhabiting the country immediately north of the hostile Indians, would unite with them, and, forming a powerful combination, would devastate the defenceless before our Government could adopt measures for its relief. The opportunity was a tempting one to a savage tribe naturally disposed to war, and always prepared for its most sudden exigencies; and many of the Winnebagoes were eager to rush into the contest. But the policy of Naw-caw was decidedly pacific, and his conduct was consistent with his judgment and his professions. To keep his followers from temptation, as well as to place them under the eye of an agent of our Government, he encamped with them near the agency, under the charge of Mr. [John H.] Kinzie, expressing on all occasions his disapprobation of the war, and his determination to avoid all connection with those engaged in it. The Indian tribes are often divided into parties, having their respective leaders, who alone can control their partisans in times of excitement. So among the Winnebagoes; a few restless and unprincipled individuals, giving loose to their propensity for blood and plunder by joining the war parties, while the great body of the tribe remained at peace, under the influence of their venerable chief."

Immediately on the close of the Black-Hawk War, by a treaty concluded Sept. 15, 1832, at Ft. Armstrong, at Rock Island, Ill., the Winnebagoes ceded to the United States all of their lands lying south and east of the Wisconsin River and the Fox River of Green Bay; and, by a subsequent treaty concluded Nov. 1, 1837, they parted with the residue of their lands lying east of the Mississippi. By the terms of this last treaty, they were to remove beyond the river named within eight months thereafter, an engagement they did not comply with until some three years

\* A more detailed account of the Winnebago War, as it manifested itself in the vicinity of Chicago, will be found in Number Ten of Fergus' Historical Series.

after. After being unceremoniously changed about from one reservation to another, by the United States Government, with little regard for its solemn stipulations, to suit caprices and avarice of the ever-encroaching white immigration, we find the Winnebagoes, in 1865, settled (let us trust permanently) on the Omaha Reservation in Nebraska, where the superintendent of Indian affairs, in his report for that year, says of them: "This tribe is characterized by frugality, thrift, and industry to an extent unequaled by any other tribe of Indians in the Northwest. Loyal to the Government, and peaceful toward their neighbors, they are entitled to the fostering care of the General Government." It seems that the shifting of them about for a number of preceding years had been their means of education and religious instruction; for, in December, 1864, we find they addressed the President as follows: "It is our sincere desire to have again established among us such schools as we see in operation among your Omaha children. Father, as soon as you find a permanent home for us, will you not do this for us? And, father, as we would like our children taught the Christian religion as before, we would like our schools placed under the care of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. And last, father, to show you our sincerity, we desire to have set apart for its establishment, erection, and support, all of our school funds, and whatever more is necessary."

Again; the Government agent, in his report for 1866, says, concerning the Winnebagoes: "There has returned to the tribe, within the few past weeks, about one hundred soldiers, who have served, with credit to themselves and to their tribe, in defence of their country. I consider the Winnebagoes one of the best tribes of Indians in the country, and, with proper treatment, they will soon become a self-sustaining, prosperous people." In 1863, their fighting men were estimated at three hundred and sixty. The census report of their numbers in 1865 gave them nineteen hundred, omitting those still remaining in Wisconsin. "They are a vigorous, athletic race, and received from the Sioux the name of *O-ton-ka*, which is said to mean 'the large and strong people'."\* They have given a name to a lake, a fort, a town, and county in Wisconsin, and to a county in northern Illinois.

\* Geo. Gale's "Upper Mississippi."

## THE FOX AND SACS.

The Foxes called themselves Mosk-wah-ha-kee, a name compounded from the two words in their language, Mosk-wah [red] and Ha-kee [earth], Red Earths, or, they of the Red Earth. Their totem or armorial device was a fox,\* and it is, doubtless, from this circumstance that they were called Outagamies (according to French orthography) or Foxes by neighboring tribes, and the signification of which French writers have preserved in the translation "*Les Renards*". Like the Illinois, Miamis, and Kickapoos, already treated of, the Foxes were, also, a subdivision of the great Algonquin family; and their differences in dialect, manners, and customs from those of other tribes of the same stock, were caused by the differences of their surroundings.†

We first hear of the Foxes on the north shore of Lake Ontario, engaged in an unnatural alliance with the Iroquois in the exterminating war then being waged by the latter upon the Hurons; and, "by attempting to keep terms with both parties, pleased neither. They soon drew upon themselves the enmity of their kindred tribes, and the execrations of the French, who heaped upon them and their vacillating policy every term of reproach. And later they were driven from old Toronto through the straits of Niagara to Detroit."‡ From Detroit they seem to have run the gauntlet of neighboring and hostile tribes around the shores of Lake Huron to Mackinac, and from thence to the river which has ever since borne their name, where, near its debouchment with the southern extremity of Green Bay, Wisconsin, they found a refuge from their enemies that was only temporary at best. Here we leave them, for the moment, to notice their brethren, the Sacs, and give the brief account, which meager historical mention has preserved of the latter, down to the period of time

\* Official report of M. de la Chauvignerie on the "Indian Tribes connected with the Government of Canada, the Warriors and armorial bearings of each Nation, 1736."

† "The Foxes speak a well-characterized dialect of the Algonquin; a notable difference being the substitution of the letter l wherein the Chippewas use the letter n." Address (and note appended) of Hon. Henry R. Schoolcraft on "The Origin and Character of the North American Indians", etc., etc. Delivered before the Historical Society of Michigan.

‡ Schoolcraft's same Address.

when the two tribes again met, this time upon the waters of Fox River, Wisconsin, and united in a bond of fellowship that was never after broken.

Ousakis; Sakys; Sauks; O-sauk-ies; Ou-sa-ki-uek [the uek giving the plural number to the noun]; O-sau-kee; and, by custom of modern writers, abbreviated to Sacs, are the appellations by which this people were known. The name seems to have originated with the tribe, and to have been derived from two words in their tongue, *viz.*: Os-sa-wah [yellow] and Ha-kee [earth or land]; which is to say, the Yellow Earths, or they of the Yellow Land. French writers have very little to say of the Sacs—and for the matter of that, the Foxes, too—prior to the time when they effected a lodgment in Wisconsin.

The great chief, Black Hawk, distinguished alike as a warrior and a historian, well learned in the traditions of his tribe, in his autobiography gives the following early account of his people:\*

“I was”, says Black Hawk, “born at the Sac village, on Rock River, in the year 1767, and am now in my 67th year. My great-grandfather, Na-na-ma-kee, or Thunder (according to the tradition given me by my father, Py-e-oa), was born in the vicinity of Montreal, where the Great Spirit first placed the Sac nation, and inspired him with a belief that, at the end of four years, he would see a *white man* [alluding to the coming of the French] who would be to him a father.” \* \* \* “After a long time, the British overpowered the French (the two nations being at war), drove them away from Quebec, and took possession of it themselves.† The different tribes of Indians around our nation envying our people, united their forces against them, and succeeded, by their great strength, to drive them to Montreal, and from thence to Mackinac. Here our people first met our British father, who furnished them with goods.‡ Their ene-

\* The contents of this little book was dictated by Black Hawk himself, in 1833, to Antoine Lé Clair, U. S. Interpreter for the Sacs and Foxes at Rock Island, Illinois, in presence of J. B. Patterson of the same place, and by the latter written down at the time, and by whom it was, the next year, 1834, copyrighted and published.

† Black Hawk doubtless refers here to the surrender of Quebec by M. de Champlain to the British fleet commanded by the brothers Sir David, Louis, and Thomas Kertk, or Kirke, in 1629.

‡ Taken in the sense that the Fox and Sacs *went* to Mackinac for the purposes of barter; Black Hawk's statement as to meeting British traders there is confirmed by official documents, both French and English. Otherwise, and owing to an infirmity common to a race having no written records and giving

mies still pursued them, and drove them to different places on the lake, until they made a village near Green Bay, on what is now called *Sac* River, having derived its name from this circumstance. Here they held a council with the Foxes, and a national treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded upon. The Foxes abandoned their village and joined the Sacs. This arrangement being mutually obligatory upon both parties, as neither was sufficiently strong to meet their enemies with any hope of success, they soon became as one band or nation of people."

On their way up the lakes, the Sacs remained in Northeastern Michigan a sufficient time to give their name to Saginaw Bay, as the word is now spelled; the orthography of early French writers being *Sac-e-nong* [the place of the Sacs]; *Sak-i-nau*; *Sag-i-nau*, in all which its derivation is more nearly preserved. They could not, however, have occupied that vicinity long enough to make it "the principal seat of their power", as affirmed by Judge James Hall and Col. Thos. L. McKinney, in their "History of the Indian Tribes of North America"; elsewhere French authorities would contain a more extended mention of them in this connection.\*

little care to chronology, there is a confusion as to dates. Traders from the British Colony of New York were at Mackinac with Indian goods in 1685, where they made so profitable a venture as to invite a larger expedition in the fall of 1686. This last, the following year, paddling their canocs up the lakes by way of Niagara, in two detachments, one commanded by Roseboom, an Albany Dutchman, in advance, the other by McGregory, were intercepted and captured by the watchful French and their Indian allies; the former, on Lake Huron, by Durantayc, and McGregory's party by LaSalle's lieutenant, the Chevalier Henry de Tonty, on Lake Erie, "at the distance", says Tonty, "of twenty leagues from Niagara". The immediate building of a fort at the mouth of the Niagara River, and the establishment of a similar defence near Detroit shortly after, effectually barred British subjects out of the Western country. *Vide* "Tonty's Account, etc., of LaSalle", "Francis Parkman's Frontenac", and "New France under Louis XIV.", and authorities there cited. It will be seen further on that the Jesuit fathers make mention of the Foxes and Sacs as living about the upper extremity of Green Bay in 1666, some twenty years *before* the breaking up of the British trade upon the upper lakes.

\* Professor Schoolcraft and Dr. E. B. O'Callyhan—the able editor of the Documentary, as well "The Colonial History of New York"—both adepts in this special field of enquiry, concur with the traditions given by Black Hawk of his people as having formerly lived along the north shore of Lake Ontario. Dr. John Gilmary Shea—of equal high standard authority in the

The years 1669-1670 bring the Fox and Sac fairly within the range of reliable historical mention, although they had been referred to, two years before, in definite terms in the "Jesuit Relations" of 1666 and 1667. Father Claude Allouez, who had already, early in December, 1666, established a mission at the mixed village of Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Foxes and Sacs, near the site of the present city of Green Bay, calling it "The Mission of St. Francis Xavier", for the reason that he said his first mass there on the festival day of that saint.\* In a pastoral letter sent from this mission to his rev'd father superior, says: "The 16th of April [1670], I embarked to go and commence the mission of the *Outagamis*, a people well known in all these parts.† We were lying at the head of the bay, at the entrance of River of the Puants [Fox River], which we have named the

whole department of aboriginal history—on the contrary, dissents and says he "can find nothing in early French writers to support the assertion." And that "the Sacs certainly were never much to the eastward of Lake St. Clair." *Vide* a valuable paper on "The Indian Tribes of Wisconsin", contributed by him to and published in Vol. III., of the "Historical Collections of that State". This conflict of opinion may be readily reconciled on the theory that the absence of mention of the Foxes and Sacs as dwelling along Lake Ontario, by early French writers, may be owing to the fact that they may have been referred to under some other name, as was the case with the Ojebways or Chippeways about Lake Superior. It is notorious that the Jesuit fathers, whose principal missions were in that quarter, in their many enumerations of the surrounding Indian nations, say the "Chippeways are never once mentioned by *that* name," although they were the most numerous, and the tribe with which the fathers had most to do, and in the very heart of whose country their sacred altars were erected. *Vide* Albert Gallatin's "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America".

\* Father Claude Allouez's Journal and Dr. Shea's Catholic Missions.

† Hall and McKinney, in their "History of N. A. Indians", not having access to reliable *data*, erroneously state that *after* their defeat and almost destruction near Detroit, already referred to in the chapter on the Kickapoos, "the remainder of the Foxes, with the Sauks, migrated to the country between Green Bay and the Mississippi, and established themselves upon Fox River." The official report of the officer, Buisson, who commanded the French and their Indian allies, shows that this attack upon Detroit took place in 1712; while, as is clearly seen from Father Allouez's letter, the Foxes and Sacs were "a people well known" about Green Bay and up Fox River nearly a half of a century before the time assigned by Hall and McKinney as the date of their migration thither.

*St. Francis*; in passing we saw clouds of swans, bustards, and ducks; the savages take them in nets at the head of the bay, where they catch as many as fifty in a night; this game in the autumn seek the wild-rice that the wind has shaken off in the month of September. The seventeenth, we went up the River *St. Francis*, which is two and sometimes three arpents wide.\* After having advanced four leagues, we found the village of the savages named *Saki*, who began a work that merits well to have its place here. From one side of the river to the other, they have made a barricade, planting great stakes, two fathoms from the water, in such a manner that it is, as it were, a bridge above [the stream] for the fishers, who, by the aid of a little bow-net, easily take sturgeons and all other kinds of fish which this barricade stops, while it permits the water to flow between the stakes. They call this device *Mitch-i-can*, and make use of it in the spring and a part of the summer. The eighteenth, we made the portage which they call *Ke-kal-ing* [the first or little rapids of Fox River]; our sailors drew the canoe through the rapids; while I walked along the bank of the river, where I found appletrees and vine-stocks in abundance.

"The nineteenth, our sailors ascended the [second] rapids, by using poles, for two leagues. I went by land as far as the other portage, which they call *Ou-ko-ci-ti-ming*, which is to say, the highway. We observed this day the eclipse of the sun predicted by the astrologers, which lasted from mid-day until two o'clock. The third, or near it, of the body of the sun appeared eclipsed; the other two-thirds formed a crescent. We arrived in the evening at the entrance of the Lake of the Puants [Lake Winnebago], which we have called Lake Francis; it is about twelve leagues long and four wide; it is situated from northeast to southwest, and abounds in fish; but is uninhabited on account of the *Nadoue-cis* [Sioux] who are here dreaded.† The twentieth, which

\* The arpent is, primarily, a French acre of land, the sides of which are in length one hundred and eighty Paris feet, equal to one hundred and ninety-two feet and nearly three inches English measurement.

† This fact, stated by Father Allouez, illustrates the extent to which the *Dak-co-tas* pushed their incursions, for game and scalps, eastward. Indeed, they claimed as their exclusive hunting-grounds the territory clear up to the shores of Lake Superior and Green Bay; and the history of the *Ojebways*, not within the scope of this volume, and who made common cause with the Fox and Sac, is but the story of a continuous warfare of nearly one hundred and fifty years duration against the Sioux, which resulted finally in driving them permanently westward beyond the Mississippi.

was on Sunday, I said mass, after having navigated five or six leagues in the lake; after which we arrived in a river that comes from a lake [Pahwaikan Lake] of wild-rice, into which we came, and at the foot of which we found the river [Fox] which leads, on the one side, to the Outagamis, and on the other, the stream [Wolf River] that leads to the Machkoutenck [Mascoutins]. We entered the former, which comes from a lake where we saw two wild turkeys perched on a tree, male and female, exactly like, in size, color, and cry, those of France. The bustards, ducks, swans, and geese are of great numbers in all these lakes and rivers, attracted thither by the wild-rice, which is their food. There is also to be found here large and small deer, bears, and beavers in sufficient numbers. The twenty-fourth, after many turns and windings in the different lakes and rivers,\* we arrived at the village of the Outagamis.

“This nation is renowned for being numerous. They have more than four hundred men bearing arms. The number of women and children is greater on account of polygamy which exists among them—each man having commonly four wives, some of them six, and others as high as ten. \* \* \* These savages have retreated to these parts to escape the Iroquois; they are settled in an excellent country; the soil, which is here black, yields them Indian-corn in abundance. In the winter, they live by the chase; about the end of it they return to their cabins, and there live on Indian-corn, which they had put in *cache* [the name of pits prepared in the ground for that purpose] in autumn, and which they season with fish. They have a fort in the midst of their forest, where their cabins of thick bark are, to resist all kinds of attacks. In traveling they lodge themselves with mats. They are at war with the Nadiouecious, their neighbors.† They

\* For many miles below the portage to the Wisconsin, Fox River expands into several little lakes; and the crooked meanders of the stream through the prairies well justifies the tradition of the Winnebagoes, related by Mrs. Kinzie in her “Wau-bun”, concerning its origin. A great serpent, living in the waters of the Mississippi, took a notion to visit the lakes; he left his trail where he crossed over the prairie, which, collecting the rains as they fell from heaven, in time became Fox River! And, that lady adds, “the little lakes along its course were, probably, the places where he flourished about at night in his uneasy slumbers.”

† Nadioue-cious, or Nadous-sioux, was in general terms a word signifying enemies, and was especially applied, by all the westward tribes, to the Dacotas (as the latter have always called themselves); and by common custom of writers in later times, only the terminal part of the word, *Sioux*, is used.

do not make use of canoes; for this reason they do not make war upon the Iroquois, although they are often killed by them. They are very much disparaged, and reputed by other nations as penurious, avaricious, thievish, and quarrelsome. They have a small idea of the French since two traders in beaver-skins have appeared among them. If they had conducted themselves there as they ought, I would have had less trouble to give these poor people other ideas of the French nation, whom they began to esteem since I explained to them the principal and only motive which brought me among them.”\*

The Foxes and Sacs had no more than secured a firm lodgment in their fortified villages in Wisconsin, until we find their marauding parties stirring up mischief in every direction. One of these, October 28, 1679, struck LaSalle, who, on his voyage of exploration of the Mississippi, had navigated the western shore of Lake Michigan, and, reaching its southern extremity, was compelled, by stress of weather, to land his canoes upon the sand-hills not a great way east of South-Chicago. LaSalle, seeing a footprint, enjoined his men to be on their guard and to make no noise. Says Father Hennepin (who is the historian of this expedition—from the time of its organization at Fort Frontenac, as Toronto, Canada, was then called, in the fall of 1678, until the time of its abandonment at the foot of Peoria Lake, Illinois, early in January, 1680): “All of our men obeyed for a time, but one of them, perceiving a bear, could not restrain himself from firing his gun at the animal, which, being killed, rolled from top to bottom of the mountain [as he calls the sand-hill] to the very foot of our cabins. The report of the gun discovered to us one hundred and twenty-five Indians of the nation of the Outonagamies, living near the extremity of the Bay of the Puants, and who were cabined in our vicinity.” That LaSalle, to guard against surprises, placed a sentinel over his upturned canoes, under which he had sheltered his goods against the rain. Not-

\* It is difficult to locate, with any degree of certainty, the site of the fortified village of the Foxes, visited by Father Allouez. From the statement in his journal of his having passed through several of the lakes or expansions of Fox River before reaching the town, it may be assumed that it was situated not a great way northeast of Portage City, and probably in Marquette County, Wisconsin. It could not have been in the near vicinity of the Portage; or else the Father's journal—so replete with details of the topography of the country through which he traveled, as well that laying adjacent to his route—would have contained some reference to the Portage, and, more than all, to the Wisconsin River flashing its broad current onward to the Mississippi.

withstanding these precautions, thirty of these Foxes, under the dark cover of a rainy night, sneaked along on their bellies, one behind the other, making, as it were, a chain from their comrades stationed at a safe distance to the canoes, from which they passed their stolen plunder backward from hand to hand. The negligent sentinel finally aroused the camp to arms; which stopped further depletion of the canoes. The rogues, finding themselves discovered, their spokesman called out that "he was a friend." In answer he was told "that it was an unseasonable hour, and that people did not come in that way by night except to steal or kill those who were not on their guard. He replied, that, in truth, the shot that had been fired had made his countrymen all think that it was a party of Iroquois, their enemies, as the other Indians, their neighbors, did not use such fire-arms, and that they had accordingly advanced with the intent of killing them; but having discovered that they were Frenchmen, whom they regarded as their brethren, the impatience which they felt to see them had prevented their waiting for daylight to visit us and to smoke in our calumet with us, which is the ordinary complement of these Indians and the greatest mark of affection." Nothing short of LaSalle's skilful, prompt, and daring measures would have saved his party from wholesale robbery and total destruction. Feigning assurance of the Foxes' friendly intentions, until morning, when, with pistol in hand, he seized one of their braves, and—through another whom he captured and released—notified the band that he would kill him unless restitution of the stolen property was made. The Foxes would have complied on the spot, but for the dilemma they found themselves in from the circumstance that among the property taken was the coat of LaSalle's attendant, which they, in making a fair division of the spoils, had torn in pieces and cut off the buttons. Therefore they resolved to rescue their comrade at the hazard of a fight. They advanced in full force upon the camp of LaSalle, who boldly went out to meet them, his men having blankets half rolled about their left arms as a shield against their enemies' arrows. The savages wavered; and having no stomach for an encounter upon a fair field in the glare of daylight, a parley ensued. They agreed to give back all except the coat; and to pay for that.

The bad name of the Foxes among their neighbors clung to them in later times; and Judge James Hall, drawing his conclusions from sources reviewed while preparing his volumes on the North American Indians, fitly characterizes them as "always [the] restless and discontented Ishmaelites of the lakes; their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them." Of all

the Western Algonquin tribes they alone (and their immediate kinsman, the Kickapoos) were the solitary exception, in their irreconcilable enmity toward the French, who—barring the single instance during a brief interval of the French Colonial War, where twenty Foxes and thirty-three Sacs, influenced, probably, out of motives of plunder, or a personal regard for the Canadian traders who recruited them, assisted in the capture of Forts George and William Henry—had no permanent peace and never any alliance with them. The fur-trade with tribes along the upper Mississippi had no more than been fairly established, until the Foxes effectually blockaded its passage through their country by way of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, by far the most feasible route, and compelled the *coureurs de bois* to take the more circuitous and difficult one around the south and western shore of Lake Superior.\*

We have seen from official documents referred to in the chapter on the Kickapoos† that, in 1694, the Foxes, fearing the Sioux would come and seize their village, meditated a migration to the Wabash. Three years later, Aug. 29th, 1697, M. de la Motte Cadillac—illustrious for eminent services other than that of being the layer of the foundation of Fort Ponchartrain, in 1701, in the present city of Detroit—arrived at Montreal with several canoes of French traders, and a large delegation of Indians from the upper lakes, whose several tribes the intendant (as the French provincial governor was called) was trying to induce to cease their warfare upon each other, and join the French in a grand effort to break the power of the Iroquois, the dreaded enemy of all. Four days later, Cadillac repaired to Quebec with the principal chiefs, and appeared with them before the intendant, Count Frontenac. Among the deputation was a Fox, who, on behalf of

\* In a lengthy resume of the occurrences in Canada in 1692-3 (and of which the whole of the Northwest was then a part), the crown is officially advised that "Le Sueur, another voyager [*coureur de bois* or trader], is to remain at Chagouamigon, and to endeavor to maintain the peace lately concluded between the Saulteurs [*i. e.*, the Ottawas and others living at the Sault de Sainte Marie] and the Scioux." "This is of the greatest consequence, as it is now the *sole pass* by which access can be had to the latter nation, whose trade is very profitable, the country to the south being occupied by the Foxes and the Masscoutins, who have already, several times, plundered the French under pretence that they were carrying ammunition to the Scioux, their ancient enemies. These frequent interruptions would have been punished ere this, had we not been occupied elsewhere."

† Page 117.

his tribe, addresses the intendant thus: "What shall I say to my father? I have come all naked to see him; I can give no assistance; the Sioux ties my arms; I kill him because he began; father, be not angry with me for doing so. I have come here only to hear you and execute your will." To which Count Frontenac replies: "Fox! I now speak to you. Your young men have no sense. You have a bad heart, and mine was beginning to be worse disposed than yours, had you not come to hear my word and do my will. I had resolved to send M. de la Motte [Cadillac] with a party of my young men on a visit to your village; and that would have been unfortunate, for, no doubt, your women and children would have been frightened by them. \* \* \* I am not willing you should return home naked, as you would have probably done if you had not come to see me. \* \* \* Here are some guns, powder, and ball that I give you. Make good use of them; not in killing your allies; not in killing buffalo or deer; but in killing the Iroquois, who is in much greater want of powder and iron [meaning guns, hatchets, knives, and other implements manufactured from this metal]. Remember, it is *war* alone that causes true men to be distinguished; and that it is *owing to war* that I, this day, know *you* by your name. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to see the face of a warrior. Here is what I give you, and you can now depart as soon as you please." After the presents had been distributed, Frontenac added: "No more powder and iron will be conveyed to the Sioux; and if my young men [*i. e.*, subordinates, traders] carry any thither, I will punish them severely."\*

The Fox and Sacs were blamed as being the principals who induced British traders to come up the lakes; and their hatred was the more inflamed toward the French because the latter, in 1701, erected a permanent garrison on the Detroit River in order,

\* In the diplomacy of words, uttered to disguise rather than to express, the true sentiments of the speakers, the honors between the Indian and the Frenchman were even. There was no sincerity in either. Indeed, we are informed, further on in the document from which these speeches are taken, that Frontenac, expecting no peace with them, was merely talking to gain time to withdraw his traders out of the reach of the Foxes, having already resolved not to send any more goods to their country. The war with the Sioux was a circumstance from which the spokesman of the Foxes could frame a pretext for their declining to let their enemies nearer home, alone, to join in a war upon the Iroquois; and had there been no war at his cabin doors, the wiley speaker would have as readily framed some other excuse, for the conduct of his people, in its stead.

among other reasons, to shut those traders out. For several years after, their busy marauding bands infested the coast line of northern Ohio and eastern Michigan, from the Maumee to Lake Huron; intercepting the postal-route communication with "the Illinois country;" plundering French traders; and harassing the French settlement, then crystallizing about the fort at Detroit. Affairs went on at this rate for ten or eleven years, until 1712, when the Foxes and their brethren, the Kickapoos and emboldened Mascoutins, by the war between England and France, massed their warriors for the purpose of capturing Detroit and driving the French out of the country. And they would have succeeded but for the timely arrival of Indian allies, who hastened to the succor of the beleaguered garrison. What terrible retribution befell the aggressors in this attack is shown in that part of the French commander's report already quoted. Father Charlevoix, in his "History of New France",\* says: "They [the Iroquois] had shortly before [1711] raised up against us a new enemy as brave as themselves, less politic, much fiercer, whom we have never been able to tame or subdue; and who, like those insects that seem to have as many lives as parts of their body, spring to life again, so to say, after their defeat, and reduced almost to a handful of brigands, appear everywhere, aroused the hatred of all the nations on this continent, and, for the last twenty-five years and more, have interrupted commerce, and rendered the roads almost impracticable for more than five hundred leagues around. These are the Outagamis, or commonly called the Foxes. \* \* \* They had recently confederated with Iroquois, and had apparently, through them, just formed an alliance with the British. They had promised the latter to burn the fort of Detroit, to massacre all the French, and introduce British troops into the fort," etc. Charlevoix then describes the siege and its results, after which he says: "However, the Outagamis incensed rather than subdued by the severe loss sustained at Detroit in 1712, infested with robberies and filled with murders not only the neighborhood of *The Bay* [Green Bay], their natural territory, but almost all the routes communicating with the remote colonial posts, as well as those leading from Canada to Louisiana. Except the Sioux, who often joined them, and the

\* We quote from this most extended and authentic history of the colonization of the French upon the North American continent ever published, and only recently (in 1871) translated into the English language by Prof. John Gilmary Shea, whose addition of copious foot-notes to the text has greatly enhanced its value.

Iroquois, with whom they had formed an alliance but who did not seem to help them, at least openly, all the nations in commerce with us suffered greatly from their hostilities; and there was reason to fear that, unless a remedy was promptly applied, most of them would make terms with these Indians to our detriment. This induced the Marquis de Vaudreuil [governor-general of New France] to propose to the neighboring tribes that they should join him in exterminating the common enemy. All consented, and the general raised a party of Frenchmen, assigning the command to Louvigny, who was then the king's lieutenant at Quebec. Many Indians joined this commandant on the route, and he soon found himself at the head of eight hundred men, firmly resolved not to lay down their arms as long as an Outagamie was left in Canada. All supposed that tribe on the brink of utter destruction; and the tribe itself judged so too, when it saw the storm gathering against it, and they only thought of selling their lives as dearly as possible."

We here leave off Charlevoix's account, and quote from M. de Louvigny's official report of the action, which, for the first time, appears printed in a late volume of the "Wisconsin Historical Collections".

On reaching the principal fortified town of the Foxes—a stronghold on Fox River, Wisconsin, and located, according to Judge Wm. H. Smith of that State, at *Butte des Morts*, or hill of the dead—a theory, too, that is supported by several traditions of the Foxes themselves; and, says Louvigny, "after three days of open trenches, sustained by a continuous fire of fusileers, with two pieces of cannon and a grenade mortar, they were reduced to ask for peace, although they had five hundred warriors in the fort, who fired briskly, and more than three thousand women; they also expected shortly a reinforcement of three hundred men. But the promptness with which my officers pushed forward the trenches that I had opened at only seventy yards from the fort, made the enemy fear, the third night, that they would be taken. As I was now only twenty-four yards from their fort, my aim was to reach their triple-oak stakes by a ditch of a foot and a-half in the rear. Perceiving very well that my balls had not the effect I anticipated, I decided to take the place at the first outset, and to explode two mines under their curtains. The boxes being in place for this purpose, I did not listen to the enemies' first proposition. They having made a second one, I submitted it to my allies, who consented to it on the conditions: that the Foxes and *their* allies would make peace with all Indians who are submissive to the king, and with whom the French are

engaged in trade. That they would return to me all the French prisoners that they have; and those captured during the war from all our allies (all which was complied with immediately). That they would take slaves from distant nations and deliver them to our allies to replace their dead. That they would hunt to pay the expenses of this war. And, as a security for keeping their word, they were required to deliver me six of their chiefs, or children of chiefs, as hostages, until the entire execution of our treaty; which they did, and I took them with me to Quebec."

Having already occupied more space than is allotted to the Fox and Sacs, we forbear further quotations from authorities and copies of official manuscripts at hand to show the troublesome relations between them and the French colonies for the following fifty years; but from these sources of information we summarize the statement that the Foxes and Sacs were far from being either subdued or exterminated; that, in 1718, they had gained a firm footing upon Rock River, Illinois; and four years later, without yielding their hold of the territory conquered in Wisconsin, they and the Kickapoos and Mascoutins had driven the last remnants of the Illinois tribes south beyond the Illinois, leaving nothing to check their raids along that river, and rendering communication between the lower-Mississippi settlements and those of Canada almost impracticable. Black Hawk says the Sacs and Foxes "were driven, by the combined forces of their enemies, to the Wisconsin. They remained there some time, until a party of their young men (who had descended Rock River to its mouth) returned and made a favorable report of the country; when they all descended Rock River,\* drove the Kas-kas-kias from the country, and commenced the erection of a village [shortly above Rock Island] determined never to leave it; and at this village I was born," etc.

It may be inquired how the Foxes and Sacs repaired the incessant drain on their numbers caused by their constant wars east, west, and south against neighboring tribes, who always had the moral support and often the direct assistance of the French. Their polygamous practices would aid only in a degree; while the real explanation will be found in their custom—borrowed, perhaps, from their friends, the Iroquois—of adopting their prisoners of war, and incorporating them into their tribe, instead of killing

\* In the Algonquin Usin-e [stony] See-be [river], meaning the rocky river, and designated on early French maps as "*Rivière de la Roch*", which has the same signification.

or making women [slaves] of them, as was the general rule among other Indians.\*

Having taken no hand in the border wars that began westward of the Alleghanys with the near close of the Revolutionary War, and ended with Gen. Wayne's victory over the confederated tribes at Maumee rapids in 1794, the Sacs and Foxes were not represented at the resulting treaty of Greenville the following year. Previous to this, they had subdued the Iowas, and incorporated them in their own tribe, and extended their domain up the Des Moines River in the present State of Iowa; thence northwestwardly, says Judge Hall, "beyond Council Bluffs and into the immense prairies periodically visited by the buffalo." They claimed the country for a distance on both sides of the Mississippi from Rock River up to Prairie-du-Chien, which included all the valuable mines of lead ore in that region. The principal village of the Foxes was at Dubuque's mine, some seventy-five miles below the former place. They had another at Rock-River rapids; while, on the east bank of the Mississippi, near the foot of the island (known as Rock Island), was a village of "Foxes and Sacs, living promiscuously together; it being (says Schoolcraft, writing in 1820) one of the largest and most populous Indian villages on the continent."

From these villages the Foxes and Sacs warred upon the nations to the west, particularly the Great and Little Osages, against whom they waged a contest that would have been one of extermination had not the United States authorities, through Gov. Wm. H. Harrison, interfered and put a stop to it. In 1811, when the Indian disturbances, egged on by Tecumthe and his followers, foreshadowed the war declared by the United States against Great Britain the following year, the Foxes and Sacs sent a committee of their chiefs to Washington City to offer the services of their tribe to President Madison; and when the war had actually begun, they sent a second delegation to St. Louis, and again tendered their warriors to the Government. While these offers were politely declined, as it was decided, at that time, not

\* Wan-e-bea Na-mo-eta (Spinning Top), a Sac, whose village, in 1823, was upon the Pek-tan-non (meaning, in the Sac dialect, muddy), as the Peek-a-ton-o-kee River, a tributary of Rock River, was called by the Foxes and Sacs, stated to Maj. Long that in his estimate his tribe enumerated nearly one thousand able-bodied and middle-aged men; that not more than two hundred of these were, in his opinion, of pure Sac extraction; while the others were principally of a foreign stock obtained in the way we have stated. *Vide* "Long's Expedition to the Source of the St. Peters River."

to employ such auxiliaries, the Foxes and Sacs were sorely puzzled to comprehend how a fight should be going on without their taking a hand in it. Divided councils ensued; a majority, mainly Foxes, remained neutral, while a brigade estimated at from two to four hundred, mostly Sacs, easily seduced by the presents and promises of Robt. Dickson,\* went over to the British. They were commanded by the Sac chief, Ma-ka-tia-me-she Kia-kiak,—the Black Sparrow-Hawk, abbreviated, through common consent, to Black Hawk—whom Col. Dickson commissioned as a general in the military services of his king. From these circumstances this division of the Foxes and Sacs were afterward known as the "*British band*".

The writer has neither the space or desire now or here to narrate occurrences relating to the so-called Black-Hawk War of 1832. That war and the events that lead up to it are given by several authors, whose volumes are easily accessible to the inquiring reader.† At the conclusion of this war, the Foxes and Sacs,

\* A subject of Great Britain, and a fur-trader, whose depot of supplies was at Prairie du Chien. For many years before, without warrant or authority, he trafficked within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States along the upper Mississippi, where, it seems, he was as industriously engaged, all the while, in distributing British flags and medals of King George III. among the Indians as he was in collecting peltries. This pernicious practice kept alive in their untutored breasts their love for their "British father across the big water", and fanned their hatred of the "Americans who had thrown him on his back." The seed of his teachings was all too ripe for the harvest when the war broke out. He visited all the tribes on the Mississippi and Illinois rivers and their tributaries, from Prairie du Chien to Green Bay; and, early in June, 1813, had collected, at the ruins of Fort Dearborn (now Chicago), a horde numbering nearly one thousand of the most cruel and abandoned desperadoes he could find. From Chicago he led them in separate bodies to Detroit and Malden, and turned them over to Gen. Proctor; and the latter sought in vain to find a gap in Gov. Harrison's lines through which he might hurl these fiends upon our border settlements. Instead of finding the promised cabins to burn, children to brain, and women to disembowel, they were confronted everywhere by *men* armed with guns and bayonets. A few months' campaigning against such implements of war, and their thirst for the blood of defenceless victims waned; they deserted in squads of from three to a score in number, and started back to their several countries, cursing, as they journeyed, the name of Dickson, who had so woefully deceived them.

† Brown's and Ford's "History of Illinois", Gale's "Upper Mississippi", and Dr. Benj. Drake's "Life of Black Hawk". The more rare, miscellane-

by the treaty made Sept. 21st, 1832, at Rock Island, ceded all their lands along the Mississippi, covering nearly the whole eastern half of Iowa and a large tract of country on the east side of that river not embraced in previous treaties; further agreeing to leave them and to quit hunting and fishing upon them after the June then next following. This treaty opened the door to a press of emigration, whose daily swelling volume quickly poured itself across the Mississippi into Iowa, and spread the newly-acquired domain with golden fields, fragrant orchards, happy cottage-homes, nestled amid shady groves, churches, and school-houses, and other evidences of the highest type of civilization. Still the hardy emigrant from the elder States\* required more room; and by subsequent treaties, in 1837 and 1842, the Foxes and Sacs, and other tribes that may have claimed any title, the whole country to the Missouri River was given up to him. The sounding axe is again heard everywhere; everywhere is seen the straining team turning up the tough prairie-sod; and on March 3d, 1845, Iowa, said to mean in the Algonquin language, "*the beautiful land*", became a State, the fifteenth of the sisterhood admitted under the federal constitution.

After the treaty of 1842, the Mississippi bands of the Foxes and Sacs were placed on a reservation of 435,200 acres located on the Osage River; while the Missouri band was placed on the south side of Ne-ma-ha River, near the northeast corner of Kansas. They of the Kansas agency, in 1865, raised 7500 bushels of corn, and owned 1700 horses; and the estimated value of their personal effects was \$71,910. By the enumeration of their

ous and historical writings of Judge Jas. Hall; the statements of Col. Thos. Forsyth (preserved in Mrs. Kinzie's "Wau-bun", and who, for many years prior to 1830, was a trader or United States Indian agent among the Foxes and Sacs) contain many interesting facts, as does Black Hawk's account of his own life; while the publications of the Wisconsin Historical Society of Wisconsin abound with crude material upon the same subject. When the varient biases and prejudices of the respective writers shall have been eliminated from these and other sources of information, and a fair average of truth is formed from the residuum, it will show that the manner in which the treaty of 1804, for the cession of a large body of lands of the Foxes and Sacs east of the Mississippi, including Black Hawk's ancient village, was negotiated, reflects little credit for fair dealing on the part of the dominant race; while the manner in which the war was conducted, that arose out of conflicting constructions of this treaty, reflects still less upon their military fame.

\* There was little of the foreign element in the early settlement of Iowa as compared with the native.

numbers taken the same year, there were 364 men and 441 women of the Mississippi band in Kansas, and only 44 men and 51 women of the Missouri band remaining on the Nemaha. If the census taker had gone further west out upon the great plains toward the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains, he would, doubtless, have found many more, engaged there in hunting and fighting, the employment of men, instead of hoeing corn, a drudgery, according to their ethics, fit only to be endured by women.

Judge Hall, who enjoyed a long and extended personal acquaintance with this people, says: "The Foxes and Sacs are remarkable for the symmetry of their form and fine personal appearance. Few of the tribes resemble them in these particulars; still fewer equal their intrepidity. They are, physically and morally, among the most striking of their race. Their history abounds with daring and desperate adventures and romantic incidents far beyond the usual course of Indian exertion."

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### THE POTTAWATOMIES.

THIS people was one of the three subdivisions of the Ojibbeways, a numerous family of the Algonquin tribes, the other two members, and of whom it is not the present purpose to write, being the Chippeways, or Ojibbeways, who retained the family name, and the Ottaways. From causes, not here necessary to name, they early became separated; and, in the progress of time, the Chippeways extended themselves westward and south of Lake Superior to the eastward sources of the Upper Mississippi River. The Ottaways spread south to Grand River, in the State of Michigan, down the western extremity of Lake Erie, and for quite a distance up the Maumee River (one of the early names by which that stream was known was the Ottaway); while the Pottawatomies advanced by way of the islands at the entrance of Green Bay to the south into the country along the west shore of Lake Michigan. That these three tribes were originally one people is evidenced, says Mr. Schoolcraft, in that one of his journals entitled, "The Central Mississippi Valley," derives additional "weight from their general resemblance in person, manners, customs, and dress, but, above all, by their having one council-fire and speaking one language. Still there are obvious characteristics which will induce an observer, after a general acquaintance, to pronounce

the Pottawatomies tall, fierce, haughty; the Ottaways thick-set, good-natured, industrious; the Chippeways war-like, daring, etc. But the general lineaments, or to borrow a phrase from natural history, 'the suite features are identical.'" Confirmatory of the above statement, we have the speeches of distinguished chiefs of each of the three sub-tribes, at the treaty of Chicago, August 29th, 1821, when the question of ownership of a large domain, south of Grand River, sought to be purchased, was under discussion. Kee-way-goosh-kum, a learned man among the Ottaways, said:

"The Chippeways, the Pottawatomies, and the Ottaways were *originally* one nation. We separated from each other near Michilimackinac. We were related by the ties of blood, language, and interest; but in the course of a long time these things have been forgotten."

After which Michel, an aged chief of the Chippeways, arose and, among other things, said:

"My Brethren—you have heard the man who has just spoken. We are all descended from the same stock, the Pottawatomies and the Chippeways. We consider ourselves as one. Why should we not always act in concert?"

Metea, the orator and historian of the Pottawatomies, and a chieftain renowned for his knowledge of the traditions of his tribe, gave his assent to these declarations in this language:

"Brothers, Chippeways and Ottaways, we consider ourselves as one people, which you know, as also does our father here (alluding to Gov. Lewis Cass, the principal commissioner in the negotiations of this treaty), who has travelled over our country."

The declaration of Metea carries more weight from the fact that his tribe alone had been the occupants of by far the greater portion of the territory about to be purchased, the Chippeways, so far as is known, never having lived upon it, while the Ottaways never resided upon but a small part of it, in common with the Pottawatomies, in the vicinity of Detroit and about the head of the Maumee Bay.\*

\* To the same effect was the speech of the Chippeway chief Mas-sass at the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, who, as the journal of that council states, "arose and spoke in behalf of the *Three Fires*, the Ottaways, Chippeways, and Pottawatomies." In his speech he constantly alludes to the Ottaways, Chippeways, and Pottawatomies, as "We the Three Fires." Later on he is followed by the great Kesis (the sun), who lived upon the Wabash, a day's journey below old Fort Ouiatenon, and who said to Gen. Wayne:

"Elder Brother, if my old chiefs were living, I would not presume to speak in this assembly, but as they are dead, I now address you in the name of the

In the writings left by early French authors, the word Pottawatomies was spelled, as is the case with the names of other tribes, to suit the arbitrary tastes of the various authors. Some of the forms are Poutouatimi, Pouotatamis, Poutouamies, Poutewatamis, Pautawattamies, Pouttewatamies, Pottawattamies, and Poux. The tribe was divided into four clans: the golden-carp, the frog, the crab, and the tortoise.

Unlike the Illinois, Miamis, and several others, the Pottawatomies were not divided into separate tribes, but their different bands would separate and unite according to the abundance or scarcity of game, or the emergencies of war. The name Pottawatomie, in their own language signifies *we are making a fire*; and for the origin of which Joseph Barron, Gov. Harrison's Indian interpreter, related to Prof. W. H. Keating, at Fort Wayne, Ind., in 1824, this tradition: "A Miami, having wandered out from his cabin, met three Indians whose language was unintelligible to him; by signs and motions he invited them to follow him to his cabin, where they were hospitably entertained, and where they remained until dark. During the night, two of the strange Indians stole from the hut, while their comrade and the host were asleep. They took a few embers from the cabin, and placing these near the door of the hut, they made a fire, which, being afterward seen by the Miami and his remaining guest, was understood to imply a council-fire between the two nations. From this circumstance the Miami called them, in his language, Wa-ho-na-ha, or fire-makers, which, being translated into the other language, produced the term by which the Pottawatomies have ever since been distinguished, and the pronunciation of which, as spoken by themselves, is Po-ta-wa-to-me, in their language, *We are making a fire*.\*"

Pottawatomies, as Massas has spoken in the name of the Three Fires, *of which we are one*. \* \* \* It is two years since I assisted at the treaty of Vincennes (referring to the treaty concluded at that place by Gen. Rufus Putnam, and the several Wabash River and Illinois tribes, Sept. 27th, 1792, nearly three instead of two years before the treaty at Greenville); my voice then represented the *Three Fires*."

\* "Major Long's Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peter's River". Prof. Keating adds a foot-note to the effect that the above tradition was narrated to him by the Indian "agent's interpreter, Mr. Joseph Barron, a man whose long residence among the Indians, extensive acquaintance with their character, together with his unimpeachable veracity, confer much value upon all the information obtained from him." Joseph Barron for many years was the interpreter, friend, and constant companion of Gen. Harrison during all his

The first mention we find of the Pottawatomies is in the "Jesuit Relations" for the years 1639-40; where they are referred to as a tribe dwelling beyond the River St. Lawrence, and to the north of Lake Huron. Twenty-six or seven years later, in 1666, in the journal of Father Allouez, as preserved in the "Jesuit Relations", they are described as "a people whose country is about the lake of the Ill-i-mouek, a great lake that has not come to our knowledge, adjoining the lake of the Hurons and that of the Puants [Green Bay], between the east and the south." \* "They are a warlike people, hunters and fishers. Their country is good for Indian-corn, of which they plant fields, and to which they repair to avoid the famines that are too frequent in these quarters. They are in the highest degree idolaters, attached to ridiculous fables, and devoted to polygamy. \* \* \* Of all the people that I have associated with in these countries, they are the most docile and affectionate toward the French. Their wives and daughters are more reserved than those of other nations. They have a kind of civility among them, and make it quite apparent to strangers, which is very rare among our barbarians."

The Pottawatomies formed an early attachment to the French official career, as Governor of the Indiana Territory and Commander of the military forces of the Northwest, in the war of 1812, assisting, as interpreter, at all of the treaties conducted by Gov. Harrison, and acting as spy, guide, and confidential messenger in the many perilous movements of his principal, during these times of troublesome Indian difficulties. He was a native Frenchman, of Detroit, and died July 31, 1843, at the home of his son, on the Wabash, near Logansport, Indiana.

\* In the "Relations", for the same year, Lake Michigan is again referred to as "Lake Ill-e-aouers," and "Lake Ill-i-ni-oues, as yet unexplored; \* \* and that the Fox Indians call it Match-i-hi-gan-ing." Father Hennepin, writing at a period some thirteen years later, in 1679, when its general coast-line had become better ascertained, says: "The lake is called by the Indians Ill-i-nouck, and by the French Illinois, and adds in the same paragraph that 'it is called by the Miamis Misch-i-gon-ong, that is, the Great Lake.' Father Marest, in his letter written from Kaskaskia, Illinois, Nov. 9, 1712, and which has become famous on account of the valuable historical matter it contains, drops the *ong* (the place of) and contracts the word to *Michigan*, and is, perhaps, the first writer who ever spelled it in the way that has become universal. He naively says that "on the maps this lake has the name, without any authority, of the 'Lake of the Illinois,' since the Illinois do not dwell in its neighborhood." The name is derived from the two Algonquin words, *Mich-i* (Missi or Missi), which signifies great, as it does also several or many; and *Sagay-i-gan*, a lake.—*Vide* "Henry's Travels."

that remained unbroken through all the vicissitudes of good and bad fortune attendant upon their exploration and attempted holding of the great Northwest. This friendship was so uniform and reliable that the Pottawatomies figure much less in official documents than the Miamies, the Foxes, or other erratic tribes with whom the French had to do. Whatever speculations might arise as to what these latter might do, no concern was had as to the Pottawatomie; he was always ready to bloody his hatchet on the enemies of his Father's children, the French, be they white Britishers, or red natives of his own race. While Nicholas Perrot was on his way from Saulte de Ste. Mary to the head of Green Bay, in 1671, engaged in notifying the several nations to meet St. Luson, the king's deputy at the former place, and hear the king's will, and give their assent to the act of taking formal possession of the country, the Pottawatomies supplied Perrot with an escort of their braves, as he passed one of their villages on the east shore of Green Bay, to ensure his safety, the route being considered dangerous on account of a threatened war between the Sioux and the Mascoutins. As Perrot approached the village of the Miamis, he sent forward a troop of young men from his escort to announce his arrival. The great Miami chief, Te-tin-choua, wished to "give the envoy of the general of the French a reception that would attest his own power. He sent out a detachment to meet him, giving it orders to receive him in military style. The detachment advanced in battle order, all the braves adorned with feathers, armed at all points, uttering war-cries, from time to time. The Pouteouatamis who escorted Perrot, seeing them come in this guise, prepared to receive them in the same manner, and Perrot put himself at their head. When the two troops were in face of each other, they stopped as if to take breath, then all at once Perrot's took the right, the Miamis the left, all running in Indian file, as though they wished to gain an advantage to charge. But the Miamis, wheeling in the form of an arc, the Pouteouatamis were invested on all sides. Then both uttered loud yells, which were the signal for a kind of a combat. The Miamis fired a volley from their guns, which were loaded only with powder, and the Pouteouatamis returned it in the same way; after this they closed, tomahawk in hand, all the blows being received on the tomahawk. Peace was then made; the Miamis presented the calumet to Perrot, and led him with all his escort into the chief town, where the great chief assigned him a guard of fifty men, and regaled him splendidly after the custom of the country."\*

\* Charlevoix's "New France."

Prior to 1670, the Pottawatomies had collected upon the islands in Lake Michigan lying westward of the Straits of Mackinac and on those near the entrance of Green Bay; dwelling there, as appears from a letter written that year by Father Claude Dablon from the mission of St. Francis Xavier, at Green Bay, "but as *strangers*, the fear of the Iroquois having driven them from their lands, which are between the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois"; [*i.e.*, the Peninsula of Michigan.]

From these islands they advanced southward between the shores of Green Bay and Lake Michigan, populating both with their villages. Father Hennepin's narrative of La Salle's voyage mentions the fact, that, the year prior to LaSalle's coming westward, 1678, he had sent out a party of traders in advance; who, having bartered successfully with the Pottawatomies at the islands named, were anxiously waiting for La Salle at the time of his arrival there in the *Griffon*. The same author notes the further fact that LaSalle's party, as they coasted southward, traded at another village of the same tribe, situated, probably, at Sheboygan, Wisconsin, certainly not south of Milwaukee. When LaSalle reached the St. Josephs of Lake Michigan there were no Pottawatomies in that vicinity. Shortly after this time, 1678, they seem to have swarmed from their prolific hives on the islands named, and advanced southward to the head of the lake, from which, in time, they spread out like a great fan; their left extreme covering that part of the State of Michigan lying south of Grand River and a line drawn from its source to the mouth of Lake Huron; their right extending over that portion of Illinois lying north of the Kankakee and Illinois rivers, as far west as the territory claimed by the Winnebagoes and the Sacs and Foxes; while their front was pushed eastward into the country of the Miamis to the banks of the Wabash and the Maumee. Father Charlevoix who visited the localities in 1721 says, "the Pottawatomies possessed only one of the small islands at the mouth of Green Bay, but had two other villages, one on the St. Joseph \* [of Lake Michigan] and the other at 'the Narrows'" [Detroit.]

Concerning the village near Detroit, and also some of the customs of its occupants, we have the following account, taken

\* The Pottawatomie villages were on the west side of the river, in the near vicinity of Niles. Old Fort St. Joseph and the Jesuite Mission from which the stream and the fort were named, stood on the same shore, while the great Miami's town, for whom the river was originally called, was upon the opposite bank.

from an official "Memoir, prepared in 1718, on the Indians between Lake Erie and the Mississippi: "The port of Detroit is south [west] of the river. The village of the Pottawatomies adjoins the fort; they lodge partly under *apaquois*\* which are made of mat-grass."

"The women do all the work. The men belonging to that nation are well clothed, like our domiciliated Indians at Montreal. Their entire occupation is hunting and dress. They make use of a great deal of vermilion, and in winter wear buffalo robes richly painted, and in summer either blue or red cloth. They play a good deal at LaCrosse† in summer, twenty or more on a side."

\* *Uh-puh-quáy*, in the Ojebway dialect, meaning a mat for the floor or covering of a wigwam; made by plaiting or weaving reeds together, like a carpet. The cat-tail flag furnished a popular material for this purpose; and they were so skilfully fastened together by the women, who made them, that when new, the rain would "not penetrate them."—*Vide* Father Marest. The frame of the wigwam was made with poles fastened in the ground, in a circular form, the tops drawn together in a cone, and over these the mattings were placed.

† The Indian game of ball, or cricket, known among the Algonquin tribes by the name of *Bag-gat-i-way*, called by the Canadians *le jeu de la crosse*, (the game of the bat) from the bat used in the play. It was popular among the aborigines as base-ball is with the whites at the present day, and is still played among them substantially as described nearly two centuries ago by the author quoted in the text. George Catlin, the great Indian portrait painter, in his interesting and finely illustrated "History of the North American Indians," says, "I made it an uniform rule while in the Indian country to attend every ball-play I could hear of, if I could do it by riding a distance of twenty or thirty miles. \* \* \* It is no uncommon occurrence for six or eight hundred or a thousand young men to engage in a game of ball, with more than that number of spectators—men, women, and children—surrounding the ground and looking on. \* \* \* In the game every player is dressed alike, that is, *divested* of *all* dress, except the girdle, etc. And in the desperate struggles for the ball when it is *up*, where hundreds are running together and leaping, actually over each others head, and darting between their adversaries legs, tripping and throwing, and foiling each other in every possible manner, and every voice raised to the highest key, in shrill yelps and barks, there are rapid successions of feats and of incidents, that astonish and amaze far beyond the conception of any one who has not had the singular good luck to witness them." In Pontiac's war, the capture of the British garrison at Mackinac was assigned to the Ojebways, who effected an entrance to the fort through the stratagem of a game of *bag-gat-i-way*. Notice was

“Their bat is a sort of a little racket,\* and the ball with which they play is made of very heavy wood, somewhat larger than the balls used at tennis. They are entirely naked except a breech-cloth, and moccasins on their feet. Their bodies are completely painted with all sorts of colors. Some, with white clay, trace white lace on their bodies, as if on all the seams of a coat, and, at a distance, it would be taken for silver lace. They play very deep and often the bets sometimes amounting to more than eight hundred livres. They set up two poles, and commence the game from the centre; one party propels the ball from one side, and the others from the opposite; and whichever reaches the goal wins. It is a fine recreation well worth seeing. They often play village against village. The Poux [a nickname for the Pottawatomies] against the Ottawas, or Hurons, and at heavy stakes. Sometimes the French join in the game with them.

“The women cultivate Indian-corn, beans, squashes, and melons, which come up very fine. The women and girls dance at night. They adorn themselves considerably; grease their hair, paint their faces with vermilion, put on a white chemise, wear whatever wampum they possess, and are very tidy in their way. They dance to the sound of the drum and si-si-quoi, which is a sort of gourd containing some grains of shot. Four or five young men sing and beat time with the drum and rattle, and the women keep time, and do not lose a step. It is very interesting, and lasts almost the entire night.”

“The old men often dance the medicine. [The medicine or sorcerer's dance.] They resemble a set of demons; and all this takes place during the night. The young men often dance in a circle, and strike posts. It is then they recount their achievements, and dance, at the same time, the war-dance; and whenever they act thus they are highly ornamented. It is altogether

given that on King George's birthday, June 4, 1763, the Chippewas would play against the Sacs for a high wager. And when the excitement of the game was at its height, the ball, as if by chance, was thrown over the palisade; the players, as if only eagerly intent on the game, rushed, pell-mell, by the unsuspecting soldiers, through the open gate, and, dropping their bats, seized the knives and tomahawks concealed under the blankets of their squaws, who were already within the fort, and at once, says Alexander Henry, an eye-witness, “began cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found.”—*Vide* Henry's “Travels and Adventures in Canada.”

\* The sticks are bent into an oblong hoop at the end, with a sort of sleight web of small thongs tied across to prevent the ball from passing through.  
—CATLIN.

very curious. They often perform these things for tobacco. When they go hunting, which is every fall, they carry their apaquois with them, to hut under at night. Everybody follows—men, women, and children. They winter in the forest and return in the spring.”

In all the broils, growing out of the bitter competition for the fur-trade, between French and British adventurers, and in the intrigues of the respective executives of New France and the British colonies to win over the Indian tribes, or incite them to acts of hostility against the other, and in which neither the French nor the British ever once consulted the welfare of the Indians themselves, the Pottawatomies maintained an unswerving alliance with the French. When these troubles in the American provinces, with many years of accumulated grievances, at length provoked a formal declaration of hostilities between France and Great Britain, and the French Colonial War was begun, the Pottawatomies fought it through to the end under the flag of their old friends. After the Northwest, with its military establishments, was turned over to the victor, they were ready to join the chief (and their own kinsman), Pontiac, in his bold attempt to capture these posts and drive the British from the country.\* Fort St. Joseph being in the country of the Pottawatomies, it was given over for them to take. Ensign Schlosser was in command at the time, with only fourteen soldiers to support him. He was confronted on the 25th of May, 1763, by a horde of Pottawato-

\* Pontiac was the great chief of the Ottawas. “His plans were matured, and late in 1762, his messengers carried black wampum belts and red-tomahawks”—ensigns of war—“to the villages of the Ottawas, Ojibwas, Pottawatomies, Sacs, Foxes, Menomonies, Illinois, Miamis, Shawnees, Delawares, Wayandots [Hurons], Senecas,” etc. On a certain day, in the next year, said the messengers, all the tribes were to rise, seize all the British posts and at once attack the whole British border.”—*Vide* “Western Annals.” Accordingly, the several forts were nearly simultaneously attacked. Fort St. Joseph, on the river of that name in Michigan; Fort Ouatanon, on the Wabash, near La Fayette, Indiana; Miamis, at Ft. Wayne, in the same State; Sandusky, near the city of the same name in Ohio; Presque Isle, at Erie, Penn.; Forts Le Bœuf and Venango, on the water route between Erie and Pittsburg; and Fort Mackinac, as stated in a previous note, were all surprised and captured. The forces at the Saulte de Ste. Mary, at the outlet of Lake Superior, had been withdrawn and were among the massacred at Mackinac; while the garrison at Green Bay, through the conciliatory and brave conduct of their commanding officer, Lieut. James Gorrell, escaped to a place of safety; leaving both these places to fall into the hands of the enemy. Only three of the

mies from Detroit, ostensibly on a friendly visit to their kinsman living on the St. Joseph. The commandant was apprised that the fort was surrounded by hostile Indians. At this, Schlosser ran out of his apartment, and crossed the parade grounds, which were full of Canadians and Indians. He entered the barracks, and these were also crowded with disorderly and insolent savages. He called his sergeant to get the soldiers under arms; and, hurrying back again to the parade, endeavored to muster the unwilling Canadians. All at once a wild cry came from within the barracks, when the Indians in the fort rushed to the gate, where they killed the sentinel, and opened the gate for ingress to their friends without. In less than two minutes, as the officer declares, the fort was plundered, eleven men were killed, and himself, with the three survivors, made prisoners and bound fast.\*

In the border troubles preceding the Revolutionary War; during the latter contest, and throughout the Indian difficulties that followed it, down to the close of Gen. Wayne's successful campaign against the confederated Indian tribes in 1794, war-parties of the Pottawatomies made frequent and destructive raids along the lines of the settlements in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. However, those of this tribe living upon the Wabash and in near communication with Vincennes, were much less annoying in this regard; and several of their chiefs and bands manifested an early friendship for the Americans, whom they called their brother, the *Big-Knife*.†

thirteen posts were saved. Forts Detroit and Pitt, after withstanding severe sieges, were relieved by forces timely sent to their succor; while the remaining one, Fort Niagara, at the mouth of Niagara River, was assailed by the Senecas, who shortly, after abandoned the attempt, fearing the hostility of the other tribes of their own nation, the Iroquois, whose sympathies were always with the British.

\* *Vide* Parkmen's "History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," from which the foregoing details are taken: Ensign John Joseph Schlosser, a native German, capt.-lieut. 60 Reg't Royal Americans, May 12, 1756; capt. July 20, 1758; at the siege of Ft. Niagara in 1759; after its surrender, commanded a post on American side of the river about a mile above the Falls and below the mouth of Gill Creek, which, in honor of him, has since borne the name of "Old Fort Schlosser." In command of and taken prisoner at Ft. St. Joseph, Michigan, May 25, 1763; taken to Detroit shortly after, and exchanged; was serving with same regiment at Philadelphia in 1772.—"Army Lists"; "Penn. Archives"; "Parkman's Pontiac"; Military Map of Niagara frontier in Wm. James' (British) "Account of Occurrences of the Late War (of 1812) between Great Britain and the United States."

† The Virginians, Kentuckians, and other early border-men usually carried

They were greatly influenced, for a while, by the schemes of Tecumthe and his brother, the Prophet, in a much less prolonged degree, however, than the Kickapoos and several of the other tribes; and a fair representation of their warriors took part in the battle of Tippecanoe.\*

very large knives, and Gen. Geo. Rogers Clark's campaigners were notably equipped in this way. From this circumstance the Western hunters and fighters were called, in the Miami-Illini dialect, *She-mol-sea*, meaning the big-knife. At a later day, the same name under the Chippewayan word *Che-mo-ko-mon* was extended by kindred tribes to the white people generally—always excepting the Englishmen proper, whom they called the "*Sag-e-nash*", and the New Englanders, whom they styled "*Bos-to-ne-ly*", i. e., the Bostonians. The term is derived from the Miami word, *Mal-shea*, or *Mol-sea*, a knife, or the Ojebway *Moo-ko-man*, which means the same thing; while the prefix *she* or *che* seems to emphasize the character of the instrument as a huge or long knife. Such is the origin of the expression "long-knives" and "big-knife", frequently met with in Indian discourses, and in books where Indian characters appear.

\* Wa-bun-see, *The Looking-glass*, principal war-chief of the prairie band of Pottawatomies, residing on the Kankakee River in Illinois, distinguished himself, the last of October, 1811, by leaping aboard of one of Gov. Harrison's supply boats, loaded with corn, as it was ascending the Wabash, five miles above Terre Haute, and killing a man, and making his escape ashore without injury.—Official letter of Gov. Harrison; Reynolds' "My Own Times." This chief's name is notably connected with the massacre at Chicago. While he approved and participated in the deed, through the stronger regards of personal friendship, he tried to save the wounded and heroic Capt. Wm. Wells from a pursuing savage of his own nation by whom the death-stab was given; and he was one of the five Indians who stood at the door of Kinzie's house, at the peril of their lives, guarding its inmates from a terrible fate that would have surely followed but for their timely intervention. He and his band were embraced in the treaty of peace concluded at Greenville, July 22, 1814; and ever after were on terms of friendship with the people of the United States. In the so-called Black-Hawk War of 1832, he and his warriors volunteered their services to the whites, and campaigned and fought by the side of the Illinois militia. The chief bore conspicuous parts in the several treaties conducted at Chicago, and was well known and is still remembered by many of its early citizens. In 1836, his people, having ceded all their lands in Indiana and Illinois, he went with them to their reservation near Council Bluffs. A fine portrait of him is preserved in the Indian gallery at Washington. A copy of it would be appropriate in the collections of the Historical Society of the great city of the West, whose aboriginal remiscences this society, besides a wide field of other meritable labor, is engaged in gathering and storing for future reference.

The official letters of the governors of the Indiana and Illinois Territories; the current news items of the day, published in the *Vincennes Sun*, the *Missouri Gazette* at St. Louis, and Niles' *Weekly Register* at Washington, sufficiently illustrate the threatening attitude of the Pottawatomies (along with other tribes) before and subsequent to the collision of arms at the Prophet's Town; and show that subjects of Great Britain, or from its Province of Canada, engaged in the Indian trade within our borders, were but so many busy and influential agents in supplying the Indians with munitions of war, and stirring up a discontent among them that would burst into aggressive hostility as soon as war should be declared between the two powers. And when the war was declared, the Pottawatomies went over to the standard of Great Britain in a body. Their first blood was that of innocent victims, mingled with the slaughter of a body of brave soldiers, whose too-confiding officer, against the admonitions of those better acquainted with the treacherous ways of Indians, left the fortress and exposed his men, and the women and children under his care to their savage fury. The horrors of the massacre at Chicago, August 15, 1812, have been so often told and published in so many books, as to render their repetition wholly unnecessary here. It was Pottawatomies (assisted probably by a few Winnebaoges) who did it; and their several bands from the Illinois and Kankakee rivers; from the St. Joseph of the Lake, and the St. Joseph of the Maumee, and those of the Wabash and its tributaries were all represented in the despicable act.\*

Their hostility ceased with the war of 1812, after which their relations were uniformly peaceable; and they endured the many impositions and grievances put upon them by not a few of their unprincipled and unfeeling white neighbors, with a forbearance that ought to have aroused public sympathy.

\* The statement in the text as to the participants in the Chicago massacre, is given in harmony with all contemporaneous and subsequent accounts, the single exception being the version of Walter Jordan, who (in a letter to his wife, dated at Ft. Wayne, Oct. 19, 1812, and which appeared in Niles' *Weekly Register* for May 8, 1813) says the retreating garrison "were attacked by 600 Kickapoo and Wynabago Indians." He is as clearly mistaken in this as he is in several other statements in his letter. He says Capt. Wells had with him *one hundred* confute [Miami] Indians, and that these *joined* the enemy. Capt. Heald, the commanding officer, says Wells had about thirty Miamis, a part of whom were placed in front, while the remainder brought up in the rear as an escort; and that they refused assistance when the fight came on. Samuel R. Brown, in his valuable history, published in 1815, concurs; while Mrs. John H. Kinzie (in "Wau-Bun"), drawing her material from several

After their migration from the islands near the outflow of Green Bay southward, they seem to have multiplied with wonderful fecundity. The time of this movement is not definitely known. Their advance line had reached the St. Joseph as early, probably, as the year 1700. The same writer whose description of the Pottawatomies of the village at Detroit in 1718 we have quoted, says they came from the St. Joseph River, their former residence. They were the most populous tribe between the lakes and the Ohio, the Wabash and the Mississippi; they claimed Southeastern Wisconsin from long occupation, and crowded themselves into the ancient territory of the Miamis, "their younger brothers," in Southern Michigan and Northwestern Indiana, taking possession through sheer force of superior numbers, rather than by gage of battle. Always on friendly terms with the Kickapoos, with whom they frequently lived in mixed villages, they joined the latter and the Sacs and Foxes in the exterminating war upon the Illinois tribes, and afterward obtained their allotment of the despoiled domain. By other tribes the Pottawatomies were called "squatters", charged with never having had any lands of their own, and being mere intruders upon the prior estates of others. "They were foremost at all treaties where lands were to be ceded, clamoring for a lion's share of the presents and annuities, particularly where these last was the price paid for the sale of others' lands rather than their own."\* Between the years 1789 and 1837, they, by themselves, or in connection with other tribes, made no less than thirty-eight treaties with the United States, all of which, excepting two or three, which were treaties of peace only, were for alienations of lands claimed wholly by them or in common with other tribes. These cessions embraced territory extending from Cleveland, Ohio, westward to the Mississippi; portions of Wisconsin and Michigan east of Green Bay and south of Mil-

eye-witnesses, and whose opportunities for acquiring the details in all their *minutiae* were better, perhaps, than those of any other person who has ever written on the subject, says: Capt. Wells had only fifteen Miamis, who *fled* at the outset; and that their chief "rode up to the Pottawatomies and said: 'You have deceived the Americans and us. You have done a bad action and (brandishing his tomahawk) I will be the first to head a party of Americans to return and punish your treachery.' So saying, he galloped after companions who were now scouring across the prairies." Mr. Jordan says he went from Ft. Wayne to Chicago with Capt. Wells, was taken prisoner, and made his escape. His whole letter is colored with exaggeration, and those parts of it that stand contradicted by writers more competent than he to know the facts, are not to be relied on.

\* Schoolcraft's "Central Mississippi Valley."

waukee; the mouth of Grand River and the south end of Lake Huron; and covering a large part of the valleys of the Illinois, the Wabash, the Maumee, and their tributary waters. Contemporaneous maps and government surveys display their numerous villages, and indicate their many reservations throughout this vast area of country.\*

The Indians themselves were not blind to the ultimate result of the relentless demands of the white people for more and more of their lands. On several occasions when they confronted the agents of the general government, who had invited them to council for the purpose of buying still another part of their possessions, they protested, as best they could, against making further sales. A notable instance of this occurred at the treaty concluded Aug. 29, 1821, at Chicago, Ill., with the Pottawatomie, Ottawa, and Chippeway tribes. By this treaty the United States proposed to extinguish the Indian title to, substantially, all that country lying south of Grand River, from its source to its mouth; and east of Lake Michigan, between its southern extremity and Grand River; bounded on the south by a line drawn from the south end of the lake east, through Northern Indiana, to the

\* Besides the villages already referred to in this volume, the Pottawatomies had others of historical interest, namely: a large settlement on the "Mil-le-wac-kie" (as they called the Milwaukee) River; on the "Schip-i-co-ten", or Root River, at the confluence of which with the lake is the city of Racine; at "Wah-kuh-e-gun" (the fort), or Waukegan; a scattering village upon both the north and south branches of the "Chicago", the name of the stream signifying a skunk in its primary, and a wild onion in its secondary sense; others, on the "She-shick-ma-o-shi-ke" (the tree from which the water flows), or the River des Plaines, from French-Canadian word *Plaine* or *Plein*, meaning a variety of maple growing along its borders; and still other towns upon the *DuPage*, so called from a Frenchman who formerly lived and died on its banks, and the Pottawatomie name for which was "O-to-ka-ke-nog" (the uncovered breast). Westward of these was the village of "Shaw-way-ne-be-nay" (contracted to Shab-eh-nay and Shau-be-nay), at "As-sim-in-eh-kon", or Pawpaw Grove. On the Illinois River and its northern tributaries above Peoria were still others; among them *Como* or *Gomo's* town, near the head of the lake; "Wabunsee's", or "Wau-pon-eh-see", near the mouth of "Pish-ta-ka", or "Poish-tah-te-koosh" (antelope), as the Natives called the Fox River of the Illinois; while "Muck-e-te-po-kee's" (the black partridge) town was near the mouth of the "Au Sable" (French for Sandy Creek), three miles below the junction of the des Plaines and the Kankakee. Higher up the last-named river, some twenty miles, stood the town of the notorious "Main-poc", "Mai-pock", or "Mai-po", as his name is variously spelled. At the mouth of Rock Creek,

mouth of the Au Glaze River at Defiance, Ohio, and thence north by the west boundary-line of a previous cession to the source of Grand River in Michigan. As the proceedings of this treaty fairly illustrate the manner in which such affairs are conducted, a portion of them are given here, as taken down at the time by Hon. Henry R. Schoolcraft, who was officially connected with the commission, and preserved in one of the more scarce volumes of his several narrative journals.\*

"Aug. 14, 1821. \* \* \* On crossing the Desplaines, we found the opposite shore thronged with Indians, whose loud and obtrusive salutations caused us to make a few moments' halt. From this point we were scarcely ever out of sight of straggling parties, all proceeding to the same place. Most commonly they were mounted on horses, and apparelled in their best manner, decorated with medals, silver bands, and feathers. The gaudy and showy dresses of these troops of Indians, with the jingling caused by the striking of their ornaments, and their spirited manner of riding, created a scene as novel as it was interesting. Proceeding from all parts of a very extensive circle of country,

at Kankakee City, and Yellow-Heads Point, a few miles north of Momence, were the respective villages of "Shaw-waw-nay-see" (the Shawnee); "She-mar-ger" (the soldier); and "Min-ne-mung" (the yellow head). The latter's sister was the wife of Billy Caldwell, whose name is so intimately connected with early Chicago.—*Vide* paper by the Hon. Wm. Hickling, published in No. 10 of the FERGUS HISTORICAL SERIES. Reservations at the three last-named villages were secured to the above presiding chiefs by the Treaty of Camp Tippecanoe, held near Logansport, Ind., October 20, 1832; and, with other reserves in those neighborhoods, were surveyed off in the presence of the beneficiaries and Gen. Tipton, Indian agent, by the writer's father, Major Dan. W. Beckwith, U. S. Deputy Surveyor, in May, 1834.

More numerous and populous villages of the Pottawatomies were in Southern Michigan and Northern Indiana, on the St. Joseph, the Kalamazoo (these Indians called it *Kek-a-la-ma-zoo*, signifying a "boiling pot"), and the several streams flowing into the Detroit River and Maumee Bay, between Detroit and Toledo. Of these may be named that of "To-pen-ne-bee", their great hereditary chief, at "Parc aux Vaches" (the cow-pen), as the Canadian-French traders facetiously nick-named the vicinity of old Fort St. Joseph; "Chip-pe-outi-pé", at South Bend; and the villages of the Five Medals and "Wap-pe-me-me" (the white pigeon), higher up the river. North and westward of the Wabash were others; "Chit-cha-kos" on the Tippecanoe, and "Chip-poy", twenty-five miles below the mouth of the latter stream. Others might be named, but enough have been given to illustrate the assertion of the text.

\* His "Travels, etc., in the Central Mississippi Valley."

like rays converging to a *focus*, the nearer we approached, the more compact and concentrated the body became; and we found our cavalcade rapidly augmented. Consequently, the dust, confusion, and noise increased at every by-path that intersected our way. After crossing the south-fork of the Chicago, and emerging from the forest that skirts it, nearly the whole number of those who had preceded us appeared on the extensive and level plain that stretches along the shore of the lake, while the refreshing and noble spectacle of the lake itself, with 'vast and sullen swell', appeared beyond. We found, on reaching the post, that between two and three thousand Indians were assembled—chiefly Pottawatomies, Ottawas, and Chippeways. Many arrived on the following days; and provisions were daily issued by the Indian department, to about three thousand, daily, during the treaty. To accommodate the large assemblage mentioned, an open bower, provided with seats for the principal chiefs and headmen, had been put up on the green, extending along the north bank of Chicago Creek. [Near the old John Kinzie house.] This site, being at some distance from the principal encampments, and directly under the guns of the fort, ensured both safety and order for the occasion. The formalities which custom has prescribed in negotiations of this kind, occupied the first two or three days after our arrival, during which the number of Indians was constantly augmenting. It was not until the 17th that they were formally met in council, when Governor [Lewis] Cass, on behalf of the commissioners [Solomon Sibley was then the associate-commissioner], stated to them the following proposition:—

“Your father [referring to the president of the United States] has observed that you possess an extensive country about the St. Joseph, which you do not cultivate nor appear to want. He has instructed us to come here for the purpose of making a purchase of a part of that land, and to pay you a liberal price for it, which we shall agree upon. The quantity of game you now kill in that part of the country is very little—almost nothing: and we can give you for it that which will be more valuable and serviceable to yourselves. We have brought with us a large amount of goods to be distributed among you; and we shall also stipulate to pay you a certain sum of money annually. It was agreed by the Treaty of St. Marys to pay you an annuity of one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars, and by the Treaty of ———, one thousand dollars; both of which sums of money are now here and ready to be paid to you.\* Should we conclude an agreement for the

\* The St. Marys referred to was a stockade erected in 1794 by Gen. Wayne as a depot for his military supplies, at the Portage of the St. Marys' River,

purchase of the lands on the St. Joseph, we feel willing that such reservations shall be made as may be proper. It will be many years before the country will be settled by the Americans; during all that time you will retain possession of the lands, at the same time that you are drawing your annuities for them. \* \* \* You can take time to consider the proposition we have now made. Counsel among yourselves, and deliver your answer as soon as you can agree. Above all, let me entreat you to refrain from whisky during the treaty, that you may be able to see justice done to yourselves. \* \* \*

Each sentence, being distinctly translated, was received with a *Ho-ah!*—a term that on these occasions merely indicates attention. The interjection (subjoins Mr. Schoolcraft in a foot-note), when strongly emphasized and responded by many voices, also denotes approbation—and is nearly equivalent to our “hear him!” and it is an easy matter to perceive by the *manner* of its enunciation whether the matter spoken excites pleasure, indifference, or disapprobation.

A short pause ensued, during which the customary presents were issued, when Me-te-a, a Pottawatomie chief from the Wabash,\* made the following laconic reply:—

“MY FATHER:—We have listened to what you have said. We will now return to our camps and consult upon it. You will hear nothing more from us at present.”

The council being again convened on the 19th, the same Pot-

Mercer Co., Ohio; and last commanded by Capt. John Whistler, who successively commanded at Forts St. Mary, Wayne, and old Fort Dearborn at Chicago; the latter he built in 1803.

The blank space in Gen. Cass' address before the words “one thousand dollars”, should be supplied by inserting the “Treaty of Edwardsville”, Ill., Aug. 24, 1816, by which the United States, for the purpose of controlling the *water communication*, since improved as the “Illinois and Michigan Canal”, purchased from the united Pottawatomie, Ottawa, and Chippeway tribes, “residing on the Illinois and Milwaukee rivers and their waters, and the southwestern parts of Lake Michigan”, a strip of land ten miles wide on both sides of *the same*, and extending from the mouth of Fox River at Ottawa, Ill., easterly to the confluence of Chicago Creek with Lake Michigan.

\* Mus-qua Was-e-peo-tan (the old town of Redwood or Cedar Creek), of which Me-te-a was presiding war and civil chief, was situated near the confluence of that stream with the St. Joseph of the Maumee, some nine miles northeast of Ft. Wayne, Ind.—“Long's Second Expedition”; other accounts; and contemporaneous maps, etc.

awatomie was delegated by the three tribes to deliver their reply to Gen. Cass' speech. Me-te-a arose and said:—

“My Father:—We meet you here today, because we had promised it, to tell you our mind and what we have agreed among ourselves. You will listen to us with a good mind, and believe what we say. My father, you know that we first came to this country a long time ago, and sat ourselves down upon it; we met with a great many hardships and difficulties [referring to their wars with its former occupants]. Our country was then very large; but it has dwindled away to a small spot; and you wish to purchase *that*! This has caused us to reflect much upon what you have told us; and we have, therefore, brought along all the chiefs and warriors, and the young men, and women, and children of our tribe, that one part may not do what the others object to; and that all may be witnesses of what is going forward.

“My Father:—You know your children. Since you first came among them,\* they have always hearkened to your councils. Whenever you have had a proposal to make us—whenever you have had a favor to ask of us, we have always lent a favorable ear; and our invariable answer has been ‘Yes.’ This you know.

“My Father:—A long time has passed since we first came upon our lands; and our old people have all sunk into their graves. *They* had sense. *We* are all young and *foolish*, and do not wish to do anything that they would not approve, were they living. We are fearful we shall offend *their* spirits if we *sell* our lands; and we are fearful we shall offend *you* if we *dont* sell them. This has caused us great perplexity of thought, because we have counselled among ourselves, and do not know how we can part with the land. My Father:—Our country was given us by the Great Spirit, who gave it to us to hunt upon; to make our corn-fields upon; to live upon; and to make down our beds upon when we die. And he would never forgive us, should we now bargain it away. When you first spoke to us for lands at St. Marys,† we said we had a little, and agreed to sell you a piece of

\* Gen. Cass had been in charge of government affairs over these tribes for many years, and acquired an extensive acquaintance; had conducted a number of treaties with them; and was highly esteemed by them for his uniformly kind and honorable treatment in all official and social relations with them.

† At St. Marys, Ohio, mentioned in a previous note, where, Oct. 2, 1818, Gen. Cass, with Jonathan Jennings and Capt. Benj. Park of Indiana, concluded a treaty with the Pottawatomie tribe for the purchase of a large tract

it; but we told you we could spare no more. Now you ask us *again!* You are never satisfied!

“My Father:—We have sold you a great tract of land\* already; but it is not enough! We sold it to you for the benefit of your children, to farm and to live upon. We have now but little left; and we shall want it for ourselves. We know not how long we may live, and we wish to have some lands for our children to hunt upon. You are gradually taking away our hunting-grounds. Your children are driving us before them. We are growing uneasy. What lands you have you may retain forever; but we shall sell no more.

“My Father:—You think, perhaps, that I speak in anger; but my heart is good toward you. I speak like one of your children. I am an Indian—a red-skin, and live by hunting and fishing. My country is already too small; and I do not know how to bring up my children if I give it all away. We sold you a fine tract of land at St. Marys.† We said then to you, it was enough to satisfy your children, and the last we would sell; and we thought it would be the last you would ask for.

“My Father:—We have now told you what we had to say. It was determined on in council among ourselves; and what I have spoken is the voice of my nation. On this account all of our people have come here to listen to me; but do not think we have a bad opinion of you. Where should we get a bad opinion of you? We speak to you with a good heart and the feelings of a friend.

“My Father:—You are acquainted with this piece of land—the country we live in.‡ Shall we give it up? Take notice, it is

of country lying in Central-western Indiana and Eastern Illinois, fronting on the Wabash from the mouth of the Tippecanoe to the mouth of the Vermilion, and extending westward to a line drawn as nearly parallel with the Wabash as practicable, so as to strike the two latter streams twenty-five miles from their respective confluence with the Wabash; and now embraced in parts of Tippecanoe, White, Benton, all of Warren, the north half of Vermilion counties in Indiana, and the greater portion of Vermilion County in Illinois.

\* Referring to the several other treaties at which extensive tracts of land claimed by them had been ceded.

† Me-te-a participated at the Treaty of St. Marys, and his name appears among the signers of the treaty.

‡ Through the war of 1812, and during his long relations as governor of Michigan Territory, and at the head of the Western Indian Department, there was, perhaps, no one better acquainted with this suburb country in question than Gen. Cass.

a small piece of land, and if we give it up, what will become of us? The Great Spirit, who has provided it for our use, allows us to keep it to bring up our young men and support our families. We shall incur his anger if we barter it away. If we had more land, you should get more; but our land has been wasting away ever since the white people became our neighbors, until now we have hardly enough left to cover the bones of our tribe.

“My Father:—You are in the midst of your red children. What is due to us in money, we wish and will receive it at this place.\*

“My Father:—We all shake hands with you.† Behold our warriors, our women and children. Take pity on us and on our words.”

Mr. Schoolcraft says in a note at this place: “I wish it to be distinctly understood, that in my reports of these speeches I have adhered, literally, to the spirit *and* form of expression of the interpreters, and have seldom ventured to change the particular phraseology. This will be apparent on perusal, and will account for the familiar cast of many of the sentences. Authenticity was deemed a paramount object, and to the attainment of this, I have sacrificed all attempt at ornament or embellishment. By this course, undoubtedly, great injustice is done to the spirit of the original; but it must be recollected that it is not the original, but the verbal interpretation that I have undertaken to preserve.” The foot-notes of the writer to Me-te-a’s speech, are supplied to give clearness to passages or allusions that, to the reader of today, might otherwise seem vague or lacking in force. Considered as a categorical reply to Gen. Cass’ address, and as a résumé of the relations of the white people toward the red man on the North American Continent, particularly the tribes in question, involving the ultimate destruction of the latter, as the inexorable result of the contact; the speech of Me-te-a, mangled as it was and shorn of its strength and imagery in rendering it into English, is logical, persuasive, pithy, and to the point; and shows that this uneducated savage, like many others of his race, possessed a capacity of mind and gifts of oratory not inferior to those of the white people.‡

\* By the terms of the treaty at Edwardsville, the annuity was to be paid at some place on the Illinois River not lower down than Peoria; while the moneys agreed to be given yearly, under the provisions of the Treaty of St. Marys, were to be paid half at Detroit and the residue at Chicago. Me-te-a accepts Gen. Cass’ offer to receive it at Chicago, instead.

† “A figurative expression”, says Schoolcraft, “much used.”

‡ Chicago was familiar ground to Me-te-a, and his hands were stained with

The Pottawatomies were among the last to close out their reservations and retire beyond the Mississippi. They were loth to give up their old homes; and for years mingled on friendly terms with the early white settlers. The final emigration from the Wabash and St. Joseph was deferred until 1838. Coercive measures were required in the removal of the bands from the latter river. The Kankakee and some of the other Illinois bands, as stated in a former foot-note, went westward some two years before.

In 1846, the scattered families of the Pottawatomies, Ottawas, and Chippeways were united to be thereafter known as the *Pottawatomic Nation*. For \$850,000, to be paid them by the United States, they released all claims to their several reservations in Iowa, Missouri, or in any other place whatever. In lieu of \$87,000 of the above sum, they took 576,000 acres of land of the general government, situated on both sides of the Kansas River, Topeka, Kansas, being very nearly in the centre of the tract. While Kansas was going through its territorial stages, the so-called "squatter sovereigns" intruded upon these lands, sold the Pottawatomies whisky and spread a general demoralization among them. The white trespassers killed the stock of the farmer Indians, burned some of their habitations, and resorted to all the well-known methods practised on the borders, time out of mind, to make it unpleasant for the Indians who were here struggling up successfully from barbarism to the ways of civilized society. The usual result, a dismemberment of the reservation, followed. The farmer Indians, so desiring, had their portions set off in severalty; the wilder members of the tribe had their share allotted in common. For the most part, the squatters got the lands of the first, while an alleged needy railroad corporation\* was subsidized with the latter.

From the several reports of the commissioners of Indian affairs the blood of the massacre there in 1812. The same autumn, his right arm was shattered, and ever after hung a withered limb at his side, from a bullet wound received, near Ft. Wayne, from a skirmisher in advance of Gov. Harrison's forces marching to the relief of that place. The last council he attended, says Gen. John Lipton of Indiana, was at Ft. Wayne in 1827, where the dignity and propriety of his conduct was a subject of remark. The business at an end, he remarked that he must have a frolic. He got drunk, and roamed the village in a frenzy, demanding more liquor. At last, as was supposed, he took a bottle of *aqua fortis* from a shop-window, and drank it, and died from its effects within half-an-hour afterward.

\* The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.

for the year 1863, it appears that there was 2274 in the tribe, all told; that the farmers among them raised 3720 bushels of wheat; 45,000 of corn; 1200 of oats; and 1000 tons of hay; and that they owned 1000 cattle, 1200 horses, and 2000 hogs. The same year, there were ninety-five boys and seventy-five girls; and in 1866 a total of two hundred and forty scholars attending the Catholic school at St. Marys, a few miles north of Topeka, where they were making gratifying progress.

Some seventy-five of their young warriors volunteered on the union side during the late civil war, and faithfully served "their country." There was no way of computing their numbers accurately—so many of the young and adventurous having strayed away in quest a more exciting life;—still, in 1867, out of a population of 2400, 1400 elected to become citizens of the United States under an enabling act passed by Congress. Some did well by the change; while others squandered their lands, and went away and joined the wild bands or mixed with other tribes out upon the plains. There are still a few left in Indiana and Michigan, and over a hundred in Wisconsin.

